An Account
Geographical, Statistical and Historical
of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack

By A. Stirling 1825

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AN ACCOUNT,

Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack.

BY A. STIRLING, ESQ.

PART I.

General Description, Boundaries Ancient and Modern, Soil, Productions, Geology, Rivers, Towns, Commerce, Population, Revenues, Political Institutions and Land Tenure.

THE extent and boundaries of the territ[illegible] have undergone many and essential changes at differ[illegible] remain to this day very ill-defined and impe[illegible] responding Puranic division of Utkala [illegible] Utkal K'hand reached on the north to Tu[illegible] in a portion of Rárha Des in Bengal, [illegible] Rasikoila Nadi which flows into the sea [illegible] was bounded by the ocean and the river [illegible] Sónpur, Búnay, and other dependenci[illegible] dwana. *Or Desa*, or *Oresa*, the old or[illegible] tribe, had anciently less extended limits, [illegible] southern and the Kans Bans which passes [illegible] 10'. N. its northern extreme; but in th[illegible] quest, the *Uria* nation carried their nam[illegible] tent of territory, both on the sea shore an[illegible] Orissa properly so called, a portion of Be[illegible] ing the sway of the Princes of the Ganga[illegible]

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ly four centuries, the boundaries of the Raj of Orissa may be stated as follows, with sufficient accuracy for a general description. North, a line drawn from the Tribeni or Tirveni ghat above Hoogly, through Bishenpur to the frontier of Patkúm; east, the river Hoogly and the sea; south the Godaveri or Ganga Godaveri; and west, a line carried from Sinhbhúm to Sonepur, skirting Gangpur, Sembhelpur and its dependencies, and thence through Bastár to Jayapur, and the Godaveri. Thus in the more prosperous days of the Orissan monarchy, and that too at no very remote period, it comprised within its limits four of our modern zillahs entire, and portions of three others, viz. Midnapore, Cuttack, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam, with parts of the Jungle Mehals, Hoogly, and Rajamundry, besides a portion of the hills and woodland country of Gondwana. The degree of authority exercised by the sovereign power throughout this extensive territory, fluctuated of course greatly at different periods, depending on the personal chara- ing Prince, the circumstances of the times, nd dispositions of the numerous dependant principalities or jurisdictions have at all and important a feature in the political nally the conquests of the Gajapati Princes e parts of Telingana, and even to the Car- never obtained a firm footing in any ac- veri and during the last century of their in- en of Rajamendry was much contested and eigns of the Deccan. One of the first ar- Akber on annexing Orissa to the Dewani oin Hoogly and its ten dependent Mehals, of Orissa then comprised the whole coun- nd Midnapore on the north, to the fort of outh, divided into the five unequally apporti- Budruck, Cuttack, Calinga Dundpat,† and

r's reign subdivided into lesser Sircars, which will be enu-

rial divisions under the old Utia Raj.

Rajamundry. The vast range of hilly country bounding the Subah to the westward, from Bishenpur down to the neighbourhood of Karronde, Bastár and Jayapur, was classed under a separate head in the Revenue accounts of the empire, for reasons which will be subsequently stated, and was allowed for many years after the Mohammedan conquest, to remain entirely under the management of its Native Chiefs, subject either to the condition of Military service or to the payment of a light quit rent. Very early after the settlement of the Emperor Akber, if not indeed at the moment of its formation, the Sircar of Rajamendry and that portion of Kalinga Des which lies South of Tikali Raghunat'hpur were dismembered from Orissa, by the successful encroachments of the Mohammedan Kings of Golconda, called the Kutteb Shahis, but of this event, no distinct account is given in the history of the country. At the opening of Mohammed Tacki Khan's administration, A. D. 1726, who governed as the Naib or Deputy of the Nazim of the three provinces, the most authentic Revenue records exhibit the Subah of Orissa as extending from a place called Radha Dewal seven coss beyond the town of Midnapore to Tikali* Raghunat'hpur, one of the estates in or near the Mahendra Mali range of hills in Ganjam, a computed distance of 176 coss, and on the west from the sea at False Point to the Bermúl Pass, reckoned at coss eighty-five. Before the close of his government its limits had become much reduced. The Officers of the Nizam of Hyderabad intriguing with the powerful Zemindars (Poligars) of the Ganjam district, contrived to alienate from the Province the whole of the country south of the Chilka Lake. On the Bengal side, views of financial convenience induced the Nawab Shúja Uddín Mohammed Khan to annex the mehals included in the old Jellasore Sircar, as far as the Subanrekha, to the territory immediately dependent on the Moorshedabad Government, with the exception of Pergunnahs Pattaspur, &c. It was thus bounded, viz. by the Su-

* Mr. Grant in his Political Survey of the Northern Sircars calls this place "Teckaly or Rogonaut'hpore on the sea coast 43 miles N. E. from Cicacole, the inheritance of Juggut Deo another descendant of the Royal family of Orissa but more immediately branching from that of Kimedy."

banrekha and Pergunnah Pattaspur, &c. north, and by the Chilka Lake on the south; East, by the ocean, and west by the Bermúl Pass, that Orissa was relinquished to the Berar Mahrattas, by the famous Aliverdi Khan in 1755-6 A. D. in lieu of the sums which he had stipulated to pay as Chouth: and it is to this tract, the modern zillah of Cuttack, which may not inaccurately be called Orissa Proper from its comprising the ancient original country of the Úria or Odra nation, and from the circumstance of its retaining amongst the natives of the present day the exclusive appellation of *Or Desa* or *Oresa*, that the following description is intended chiefly to apply.

The Purans and Upapurans are lavish in their praises of Utkal K'hand,* the real etymology of which word I apprehend to be, "The famous portion or country," and not, the famous country of Kala, as rendered by a very high authority. It is declared to be the favorite abode of the Devatas, and to boast a population composed, more than half, of Brahmins. The work called the Kapila Sanhitá, in which Bharadwája Muni explains to his inquiring pupils, the origin, history, and claims to sanctity of all the remarkable *Khetrs* of Orissa opens with the following panegyric: "Of all the regions of the earth Bharata K'hand, is the most distinguished, and of all the countries of Bharata K'hand, Utkala boasts the highest renown. Its whole extent is one uninterrupted Tírt'h (place of pilgrimage.) Its happy inhabitants live secure of a reception into the world of spirits, and those who even visit it, and bathe in its sacred rivers, obtain remission of their sins though they may weigh like mountains. Who shall describe adequately its sacred streams, its temples, its khetrs, its fragrant flowers and fruits of exquisite flavour, and all the merits and advantages of a sojourn in such a land. What necessity indeed can there be for enlarging in the praises of a region, which the Devatas themselves delight to inhabit?" The Panjias or Annalists of Orissa are fond of relating, that when the famous Sivai Jay Sinh, the Ge-

* Some of the Pundits of Cuttack explain it to mean the region famous in the Caliyuga for its temples and khetrs.

neral of Akber, marched with an army into the country in 1580, A. D. he was struck with amazement at the sight of its sacred river the Mahánadi, its vast crowds of Brahmins, its lofty temples of stone, and all the wonders of the ancient capital Bhuvaneswar, and exclaimed, "This country is not a fit subject for conquest, and schemes of human ambition. It belongs wholly to the Gods, and is one entire Tirt'h." He accordingly interfered little in its affairs and soon returned to Hindustan, leaving a large share of authority in the hands of its Native Princes.

The Hindus of modern times however, freely admit, that the estimation in which Orissa is or was held, is to be ascribed entirely to its temples, places of pilgrimage, and its Brahmanical institutions. At all events, the European observer will soon discover, that notwithstanding its Puranic celebrity, the soil of the country is generally poor and unfruitful, all its natural productions of an inferior quality, and that its inhabitants rank the lowest, in the scale of moral and intellectual excellence, of any people on this side of India.

The modern Orissa or Cuttack, comprises, as is well known, an extensive, little explored region, on the west, consisting chiefly of hills and forests, intersected by many fertile plains and vallies; and a plain level country, extending from the foot of that barrier to the sea, evidently of alluvial formation, the uniform surface of which is not disturbed by a single rocky elevation throughout its whole extent—nor does a single stone occur between the beds of iron clay lying on the western frontier, and the ocean, if we except the curious spheroidal concretions of calcareous matter or limestone nodules which are found very generally dispersed. The province may be considered as divided both naturally and politically into three regions, distinguished from each other by their climate, general aspect, productions and the institutions prevailing on them, viz. 1st. The marshy wooodland tract which extends along the sea shore, from the neighbourhood of the black Pagoda to the Subanrekha varying in breadth from five miles to twenty: 2ndly. The plain and open country between this and the

hills, whose breadth on the north is as trifling as ten or fifteen miles, and never exceeds forty or fifty; and 3rd. The hill country. The first and third are known to the natives as the Eastern and Western Rájwára or Zemindara, that is, the country occupied by the ancient feudal Chieftains, Khandaits, Zemindars or Poligars of Orissa; and the second, as the Mogulbundi or Khaliseh, being that from which the indigenous sovereigns and the Mogul conquerors of the country, derived the chief part of their land revenue, and which at present pays a rent to the British Government of Sicca Rupees 1,264,370; whilst the tribute yielded by the other extensive portions is fixed in perpetuity at the low sum of Sicca Rupees 1,20,411.*

It will be convenient to describe the soil, productions and geological formation of the country in the order above noticed.

The first region has much of the character of the Sunderbans, in its swamps and marshes, innumerable winding streams swarming with alligators, its dense jungles and noxious atmosphere, but wants entirely that grandeur of forest scenery, which diversifies and gives a romantic character to many parts of the latter. The broadest part of it is divided amongst the Rajas of Kanka and Kujang, and the Khandaits of Herrispur, Merichpur, Bishenpur, Golra and others of less note. The Killah or Zemindarí estate of Ar[illegible] likewise comes in for a share. Northward of Kanka the quantity of Jungle diminishes up to the neighbourhood of Balasore, but the whole space is intersected by numberless nullahs which deposit, and creeks which retain, a quantity of fine mud, forming morasses and quicksands highly dangerous to the unwary or uninformed traveller. The surface of the whole is covered with coarse reedy grass, and brushwood, valuable as fuel to the salt manufactures. One meets also with much of the Jhao or Tamarix Indica, interspersed with quantities of a stunted dwarf Palm, called Hintal

* The Jemma of Khurda, which belongs to the Rájwára, but is at present under the immediate management of the English Revenue Officers, in consequence of the dispossession of the Raja is not included in this statement of Land Revenue.

(Phœnix Paludosa). Generally, where pure sand appears, more especially to the southward, about the black Pagoda, the surface of it is covered with a thick net work, formed by the interlaced stalks of a creeping convolvulus, with bilobate succulent leaves, which are for half the year loaded with large gay looking flowers of a bright reddish purple. The natives call it Kynsarílatá. A delicate succulent plant with small bright green leaves growing thickly together (class Tetrandria, order Monogynia) is also very common, and the summits of the sand hills are for the most part crowned with tufts of the Asclepias Gigantea and a stiff thorny gramineous plant known by the name of the Goru Kanta. The prevailing timber is the Sundari (Query, Helitiera Litoralis, or a species of Sterculia?) Extensive thickets of the thorny bamboo render travelling impracticable in most parts of Kujang, Herispur, &c. except by water. The whole of the jungles abound with Leopards, Tygers, and wild Buffaloes, and the rivers at the flowing of the tide are perfectly surcharged with large and voracious Alligators of the most dangerous kind. The climate seems to be hurtful even to the natives, who are peculiarly subject to two formidable diseases, the Elephantiasis, and a species of dysentery called the Súl, besides the commoner complaints of fever and ague,

In this wild inhospitable tract however the finest salt of all India is manufactured, which under the monopoly system, yields annually to the Company a net Revenue falling little short of eighteen lacs of Rupees. The produce, distinguished for its whiteness and purity before it has passed into the hands of the Merchants, is of the species called Pangah procured by boiling. The process observed by the Molunghees or manufacturers is rude and simple to the last degree. The sea-water which is brought up by various small channels to the neighbourhood of the manufacturing stations or khalaris, is first mixed up and saturated with a quantity of the salt earth or efflorescence, which forms on the surface of the low ground all around, after it has been overflowed by the high tides, and which being scraped off by the Molunghees, is thrown into cylindrical recepta-

cles of earth having a vent underneath, and a false bottom made of twigs and straw. The strongly impregnated brine filtering through the grass, &c. is carried, by a channel dug in the ground, to a spot at hand, surrounded with an enclosure of mats, in the centre of which a number of oblong earthern pots, generally about two hundred, are cemented together by mud into the form of a dome, under which is a fire place or oven. The brine is poured into this collection of pots or choolahs, and boiled until a sufficient degree of evaporation has taken place, when the salt is taken out as it forms, with iron ladles, and collected in heaps in the open air. The heaps are afterwards thatched with reeds, chiefly the Nal (Arundo karka) and remain in this state until sold, or removed by the Officers of the Agency.

Occasional patches of rice cultivation are to be met with in this portion of the Rajwára producing sufficient grain for local consumption, and the Raja of Kanka exports even a considerable quantity both to Calcutta and Cuttack. The sea all along the coast yields abundance of fine fish, of which upwards of sixty-one edible kinds are enumerated, by the natives. Those most prized by Europeans are the Sole or Banspatti, Tapsiya (Mango Fish,) Phirki (Pomfret,) Gajkarma (Whiting,) Hilsa (Sable Fish,) Kharanga or Mullet, a fish called the Bijay Ram something resembling Mackarel, and the Sal or Salia. The Chilka Lake produces noble Bhekti or Cockup. The value of the excellent Turtle, Oysters, Crabs, and Prawns, found off False Point, and in other parts, was unknown to the natives prior to their subjection to the British rule, but they are now of course eagerly sought after, to supply the stations of Balasore, Cuttack and Juggunnath. The great season for fishing is in the winter months, from October to February, whilst the wind and the surf are moderate. At this time all along the Northern coast the fishermen go out in parties of from twenty to thirty each, with large nets, which they set up before the commencement of flood tide, with the aid of bamboo poles, in the form of a vast triangle, having the base open towards the shore. As the tide retires the fishermen take in and close up the nearest nets, thus driving the fish into the apex of the

triangle where there is a net placed with a large pouch ready for their reception. The quantity obtained at a haul in this way is often prodigious. The produce is taken to the neighbouring villages for sale, after reserving a sufficiency for home consumption, and a large quantity travels far into the interior, unprepared in any way, which it of course reaches in the last stage of putridity, but not on that account a bit the less palatable or acceptable to the nice and scrupulous Hindu.

On emerging from the insalubrious and uninteresting tract just described, you arrive at the second and most important division of Cuttack, called the Mogulbandi or Khaliseh land which is divided into 150 Pergunnahs, and 2361 Estates of individuals, recorded in the public account of the British Government as Zemindars and Proprietors of the soil. Though this region be in general highly cultivated, and produces most of the grains and vegetables common in Bengal, its soil is certainly for the most part of a poor and unfruitful description. South of the Mahánadi it may be characterized as generally light and sandy. Beyond that river, and especially in the neighbourhood of the hills, it acquires a clayey consistency, and appearance, and is often remarkably white. Often too, for miles together it has the surface strewed with a thin sprinkling of gravel or limestone concretions called by the natives Gengti. This description of soil extends nearly to Midnapore. It is generally speaking hungry and unproductive, particularly near the hills; and large plains occur, as about Dhamnagher and Badrak, which are wholly unfit for cultivation, growing nothing but low stunted brushwood, chiefly the wild Corunda and tufts of the Bena grass.

Rice is the great article of produce, and consequently of food, throughout Orissa Proper. In the Pergunnahs north of the Byteriní it is almost the sole object of agricultural labor. The grain is in general large and nutritious but coarse, and is considered far inferior to the average produce of Bengal and Behar. The two great rice crops of Cuttack are called the Sared and Beali. Of these the first and principal one is sown in May and June, and reaped from the middle of November to the middle of Ja-

nuary. The land which grows it rarely yields any second crop. The second in importance called the Beali is sown about the same time on the higher lands, and the produce is obtained from the end of August till the end of September. Afterwards a plentiful crop of the Rubbee grains is derived from the same fields. There is another less abundant crop called the Satkia put into the ground in August and September, and reaped in November, and an inferior description of rice which is sown in low marshy spots at the opening of the cold weather, and by frequent transplantation and irrigation is rendered fit for cutting, in the following April. The cultivation of the latter sort called *Dalo*, takes place chiefly in the Pergunnahs between Khúrdah, the Chilka Lake and the sea.

In the Northern Pergunnahs the Sared rice cultivation is occasionally but rarely diversified with a few patches of Sugar-cane, Tobacco, and Palma Christi, in spots suited to their production. In the Central and Southern parts however abundant crops of pulse, millet and vegetable oils are raised during the cold weather, the chief of which are enumerated below.* Next to rice, the culture of the Arend or Palma Christi (Ricinus Communis) is perhaps the most abundant. The natives undoubtedly use the oil in their common cookery, mixed with a small quantity of mustard seed oil, which latter they prefer for burning as being the most economical. Cotton, Sugar-cane, and Tobacco are every where common South of the Byterini but it must be acknowledged that the produce is of a sorry description. The richer natives will not condescend to use the *Desi* Tambáku and the cotton formerly required for the manufacture of the finer fabrics was nearly all imported from Berar. Good wheat and a small quantity of barley are grown in Pergunnahs Saibír and Asseresser. There is but little

* Viz. Múng, or *Phaseolus Mungo;* Mash Kalai, or *Phaseolus Radiatus;* Chenna, or *Lathyrus Aphaca;* Khisari, or *Lathyrus Sativus;* Massúr, or *Cicer Lens;* Arhe, or *Cytisus Cajan;* Kulthi, or *Dolichos biflorus;* Berkúdi, *(Beri) Phaseolus max.* Bhút, *(Cicer Arietinum);* Kangni, or *Panicum Italicum;* Makúand Jenar, *Andropogon Sorgum.* Bajra (Panicum Spicatum); Marúa (Eleusina Corocana); Til (or Sesamum Orientale); Sarisha or Sinapis Dichotoma and Phesi (Linum usitatissimum).

of the vegetables producing materials for dying, cordage, &c. reared in the district, the Safflower (Carthamus Tinctoria) Pát (Hibiscus Cannabinus) and Kasmira or Sana (Crotolarea Juncea) being the only kinds that are commonly met with. The culture of the Poppy, Mulberry and Indigo, is unknown in the plains of Orissa. Nor, what will appear strange, were the peasantry acquainted with the method of cultivating the Betle vine, until taught by the natives of Bengal some generations back. The Piper Betle now flourishes in the gardens around Púrí and in the neighbourhood of a few Brahmin villages, but the produce can be adequate only to the supply of a very limited consumption, notwithstanding the assertion of the author of the work called the Ayeen Acberi or Institutes of Acber, that "they have a great variety of the Betle leaf in Orissa." The spots which are destined for the cultivation of Betle as also of Turmeric, Sugar-cane, &c. require laborious preparation and the application of a large quantity of manure, for which latter purpose the oil cake or Pirí made of the refuse of the sesamum, mustard and other seeds of the same family is generally used. An occasional sprinkling of rotten straw, cow-dung and ashes is the only manure expended in the fields which yield the other kinds of produce.

Orissa has little to boast of in the produce of its gardens though praised by Abulfazl for the excellence and abundance of its fruits and flowers. There is no deficiency however of the humbler kinds of pot herbs, and cucurbitaceous plants, with the Hibiscus esculentus, the Solanum Melongena or egg plant, the sweet Potatoe and Lanka Mirch or Capsicum annuum. The native lists likewise comprize most of the ordinary garden produce of India.* The commoner fruits are as elsewhere, the mango, the

* Kachu (Arum Esculentum); Mula (Raphanus Sativus); Karela (Cleome Pentaphylla); Dhanya (Coriandrum Sativum); Ajwain (Ligusticum Ajwain); Metthi (Trigonella Fœnum Grœcum); Phût (Cucumus Momordica); Kankúr (do Utilissimus); Ben Gomúga (Cucumis Madraspatana); Pita Tarai (Tricosanthes lobata); Dhúndolo (Luffapentandra); Kalam Sag (Convoloulus reptans); Lal Sag (Amaranthus gangeticus); Calra (Momordica muricata); Kala Shima (Dolichos Ensiformoides); Sorva (Anethum Sorva), &c. &c.

Phalsa (Grewia Asiatica), the Jam (Eugenia Jambu), the Guava, Custard Apple, the Harphaleri (Phyllanthus Cheramela), the Chalta (Dillenia Indica), the Kendhu (Embryopteris glutinifera), the Pomegranate, the Cashew-nut, the Jack, the Bel (Œgle Marmelos), the Kath-Bel or Wood Apple (Feronia Elephantum), and the Kharanj (Galedupa Arborea), from whose fruit an oil is extracted, used for burning by the natives. The Wine palm (Borassus Flabelliformis), and the Khajúr (Phœnix Sylvestris), abound in particular quarters. One rarely meets with the Cocoanut and Supári except in the neighbourhood of Brahmin villages, though they would thrive every where well in Cuttack, more especially the former. In all times Cuttack has been famous for its abundant produce of the fragrant Keora or Ketaca (Pandanus Odoratissimus). It grows every where wild, and is much used, jointly with several kinds of Euphorbia and Mimosa, for making hedge rows. The fruit borne in quantities by the female plant has much of the rich and tempting appearance of the Pine Apple, but on trial the inside proves to be hard, stringy, and tasteless. Its pith is used when boiled, as an article of food by the poorest classes, but seems to be little prized even by them. An intoxicating spirit is distilled however from the strongly scented flowers of the male plant, to which the lower orders have no aversion.

The surface of the Mogulbandi is in most parts south of the Kans Bans embellished and diversified with fine shadowy groves of Mangos, dense thickets of Bamboo, and the most magnificent Banyan trees. The better cultivated gardens are loaded with Jessamines, Sambacks, Marigolds, Bauhinias, the Hibiscus, Rosa Sinensis, Michelia Champaca, &c. About the huts of the natives we generally find in great quantities the Hyperanthera Morunga, Melia azadirachta and Sempervirens, Æschynomene Sesban, and grandiflora, the Bombax Heptaphyllum, Nauclea orientalis, &c. with the usual proportion of plantains.

That the inferior quality and limited growth of many of the most valuable products of agriculture in Orissa, are owing in a great degree to something unfavorable in the soil and climate, is clearly evinced by the indif-

ferent success attending the efforts of the European Residents in gardening. Much however must be ascribed to the general poverty, ignorance and want of enterprize of its peasantry and agriculturists. No one can enter the enclosures of the Sásans or villages held at a light quit rent by colonies of a particular class of Brahmins, without being instantly struck with the wide difference, which their precincts exhibit, as contrasted with the aspect of ordinary Uria Mouza. The higher description of cultivation which prevails on those lands, the superior value of their produce, and the flourishing groves and gardens which extend all around, evince what may be effected by intelligent industry, secured in the enjoyment of an adequate return and undisputed proprietary possession, even in this little favored soil and climate. It is in such situations only and in the neighbourhood of some of the well endowed temples, that the eye of the botanist is gratified by the presence of those graceful trees and plants, which constitute the chief ornament of the Indian Flora, such as the Nagacesara (Mesua Ferrea), the Moulsari (Mimusops Elengi), the Jonesia Asoca, the Ochna Squarrosa, the Sultan Champa or Calophyllum Inophyllum, the Jarool (Lagerstrœmia Flos Reginœ), and the finer kinds of Ixora, interspersed with Cocoa and Areca nut trees, and plantations of the betle vine, turmeric and ginger. The Sásan Brahmins indeed are the only cultivators or land proprietors of Orissa who manifest any symptoms of a disposition to improve their system of agriculture, or to raise any plant or produce beyond what the wants of nature absolutely demand.

The Domestic Animals of the Mogulbandi do not rank higher in the scale of excellence than the produce of its soil. The horned cattle, sheep and goats are a miserable diminutive breed. A few fine buffaloes are domesticated on the eastern frontier for the sake of their milk, but they are not at all used as beasts of burthen.

There is little game to be met with, excepting grey partridges, hares, snipes, jungle fowl and ducks of various kinds, and that little is difficult to be got at from the nature of the jungle. Few districts in India perhaps

possess fewer attractions for the sportsman. The mention of the wild animals will more properly come under the description of the hill portion of the district.

The third region to be described is that of the hills which bound the Mogulbandi to the westward from the Chilka Lake to the Subanrekha. A few groups extend into the plains, as at Derpen, Alemgir, Khúrdah, Limbai, &c. and in the latitude of about 21° 20' N. the hills take a direction considerably to the eastward for some miles, then turning north they compress the Balasore Chucklah of the Mogulbandi within very narrow limits. The distance between the high land and the sea is no where more than from sixty to seventy miles. At Balasore a group of fine rocky hills project boldly forth, to within sixteen or eighteen miles of the shores of the bay, which were known to the old navigators as the Nelligreen (Nilgiri) mountains, and between Ganjam and the Lake a low ridge appears actually to run out into the sea, though in reality separated from its waters by a wide sandy beach. The whole of this region, reaching west as far as Sonepur, Gondwána and its dependencies, in breadth probably nearly a hundred miles, and from Sinhbhúm adjoining Midnapore, north, to Gúmser in Ganjam south, a distance of certainly not less than two hundred miles, is parcelled out amongst sixteen Khetri or Khandait Zemindars, who have been recognized by the British Government as tributary Rajas. Along the feet of the hills extends a chain of twelve more Khundaitis held by a similar class, some of whom pay a light tribute, but are subject to the British laws and regulations, whilst others have been assessed at the ordinary rate. Their estates or feudal jurisdictions are entered in the revenue accounts, under the Mogul designation of Killah* or castle. The greater killahs within the hills, are subdivided again into a vast number of dependant Gerhs or estates, which are held by hereditary officers, called

* The original meaning of *Killa* was a fort or strong place *on a hill* or mountain, though in latter times it has become applied to all kinds of places of defence. The class of estates here referred to always comprized some strong hold, difficult of access, and more or less fortified. The term properly designating the principal residence of the chief, gradually became applied to his whole country in the revenue accounts.

Khandaits, Dulbehras, Naiks or Bhúnias subordinate to the chief Zemindar.

The hills visible from the low country between the Brahmani river and Ganjam, are chiefly a granite formation remarkable for its resemblance to sandstone, and for its containing vast quantities* of imperfectly formed garnets disseminated throughout, with veins of steatite considerably indurated. They occur generally in irregular scattered groups, having peaked and waving summits, which seem to cross each other at all angles; or in isolated conical and wedge-shaped hills wholly disconnected at their bases, and are all covered with vegetation to the very top. The greatest height of those seen from the Mogulbandi may be about 2,000 feet. Their ordinary elevation varies from 300 feet to 1200 feet. Ranges occur further in the interior of greater loftiness and regularity, but I believe that an extended, continuous chain of mountains is no where to be met with in the Rajwára of Orissa. The prevailing colour of the principal rock is red. As far as my observation goes it never occurs stratified. Its texture often approaches to slaty, and from its generally decomposing and decomposed aspect, the quantity of red spots which it contains, being the ill-formed garnets above noticed, and the frequent veins of red and white steatite intersecting it, it presents altogether a most remarkable appearance. The same rock I apprehend extends throughout the Northern Circars and far into the heart of the Deccan.

The rock most abounding in this division of the district next to the granite, is that singular substance called Iron Clay by Jamieson, and Laterite by Dr. Buchanan. It lies in beds of considerable depth on the feet of the granite hills, often advancing out for a distance of ten or fifteen miles into the

* Having enjoyed an opportunity of submitting an extensive collection of Cuttack specimens to the examination of Mr. H. Voysey, Surgeon and Geologist to Col. Lambton's survey, I am enabled by his assistance to express myself with some confidence in the little which I have to offer regarding the mineralogy of the province.

plains, where it forms gently swelling rocky elevations, but never rises into hills; sometimes it is disposed in the manner of flat terraces of considerable dimensions which look as if they had been constructed with much labour and skill. The composition and aspect of the Cuttack iron clay are very remarkable, from the innumerable pores and amygdaloidal cavities which it contains, filled with white and yellow lithomarge, and from the quantities of iron ore pebbles and fragments of quartz imbedded in it. By far the most interesting circumstance however connected with it is, its complete and intimate mixture with the granite, which has been traced in several instances, and specimens of which are in my possession, exhibiting the one rock entirely invested by the other, though it is not easy to pronounce which is the inclosing substance. We have here an instance of a rock of the Wernerian newest Flœtz trap formation, resting upon the oldest primitive rock and in actual junction with it. The granite, at the place where the specimens were principally collected, appears to burst through an immense bed of the laterite, rising abruptly at a considerable angle. Numerous broken fragments are strewed all around the line of junction, and in some specimens the two rocks are so mixed together as to form a sort of coarse breccia or rather conglomerate.

South of the Mahánadi, in the country of Khúrda a few isolated hills of white and variegated sandstone occur, curiously interspersed among the granitic ones. An indurated white lithomarge is found in company with them from which the natives prepare a white wash to ornament their houses.

In the estates of Keonjher, Nílgiri, and Moherbenj, which constitute the northernmost portion of the hilly division of the Cuttack province, the half decomposed granite above described passes into fine white granite and gneiss rocks containing micaceous hornblende as a constituent part, many of which, as I am informed, differ little in composition and general appearance from specimens collected on the highest accessible summits of the Himalaya mountains. The whole of the region now adverted to, furnishes a great variety of interesting and valuable mineral productions, and

is well worthy of attentive exploration by a Geologist qualified to describe adequately its most striking features and peculiarities. The granitic rocks are here highly indurated and denuded of vegetation, and present a bold and varied outline with frequent sharp peaks and abrupt craggy faces. They are moreover in many parts curiously intersected by trap veins, which seem to consist chiefly of green stone approaching often to Basalt and Hornblende rock. In company with these rocks, Talc slate, Mica slate, and Chlorite shist passing into serpentine and pot stone, are found in great abundance. Several of the Chlorites are scarcely distinguishable from the latter mineral, and are much used under the general denomination of Múgní, for the manufacture of culinary vessels, idols, and sculptured slabs which decorate the temples and finer edifices of the Úriahs. The granites and gneiss rocks being too hard for the tools of the quarriers in this quarter, and the shists, with the exception of the Chlorite, not being of a description applicable to any useful purposes, the natives have adopted a very summary and comprehensive Geological classification. They stile the Múgní, *karma*, or useful, and all other rocks they banish into the class of *Akarma*, or useless, concerning the situation and history of which they are as provokingly indifferent as they are ignorant. Besides the substances above enumerated, a variety of Corundum, or *Corund*, is found in the Nílgiri hills, called by the quarriers *Silá Dhár*, which as the name implies, is used for sharpening their tools; also steatite, and Meerschaum in the state of a remarkably pure white powder, occur abundantly in Keonjher. The natives know no use for the latter substance, except to form the tíka or streaks which particular classes draw on their foreheads.

Iron is abundantly diffused throughout the whole of the Cuttack hills, in the state chiefly of Pisiform iron ore, earthy red ditto, and Ochry red ironstone. It is smelted principally in the estates of Dhenkanál, Angol and Moherbenj. Some of the rivers of Dhenkanál and Keonjher are said to have golden sands, but the report wants confirmation, and I have not been able to ascertain the existence of any metal except iron in this province.

The only limestones of the province, are the calcareous nodules which occur abundantly in beds and nests, both within the hills and in the open country adjoining them, consisting of a ball of tolerably pure limestone enveloped in a yellowish coating of indurated marl.

The hill estates vary much in the proportion of arable land which they contain, but, in most, a considerable quantity of rice is grown, and a few of the rubbee grains. In patches of jungle which have been recently cleared, and on the slopes of some of the minor hills, the Jowar and Bajera and the Mandia or Raggee (Eleusine Corocana) thrive with great luxuriance. Moherbenj, Beramba, Dhenkanál, and Keonjher, grow a small quantity of Indigo, and on the latter estate the Poppy even is cultivated. Keonjher during the late expedition against the Coles, was found to be for nearly one hundred miles, an open cultivated country only occasionally interrupted by ridges of hills and patches of jungle. Generally speaking, however, the land fit for tillage bears a very trifling proportion to the vast extent of rocks, hills, beds of torrents, and forests which occupy this region.

The woods of the interior produce abundance of fine timber, as the Sál, Piyasál (Buchanania Latifolia), Gamhár (Gmelina Arborea), &c. and, more rarely, the Sisú (Dalbergia Sissoo). A few teak trees are found in Despalla, but that valuable timber does not form forests nearer than the banks of the Tél Nadi which flows into the Mahánadi at Sonepur. The Sál trees of Angol, Dhenkanál, and Moherbenj, are particularly sought after from their size. They are said to form forests of great depth and grandeur, throughout a large proportion of the latter estate. Good Oranges and Mangos are produced in many of the hill estates.* The Mango tree occurs frequently both solitary and in groves, in situations where it is obviously growing wild, and the natives are fond of ascribing the existence of this

* I am not aware upon what authority Mr. Hamilton has stated that the *Orange clove* is found in the Cuttack hills and the tree called *Janool*, [Query, *Jarool*, the beautiful Lagerstræmia Flos Reginæ], commonly on the sea shore.

highly esteemed fruit, under such circumstances, to the benevolence or caprice of the Deotas.

The trees seldom attain to a large height or luxuriant growth in the decomposed soil covering the Granitic hills, which border the Mogulbandi, or in the woods that stretch along their bases. The jungles in the latter situation abound to a remarkable degree with trees and plants yielding drugs and medicinal articles, or at least fruits esteemed such by the natives, as the Terminalia Chebula, and Belerica (Harira and Bahara,) Vangueria Spinosa (Mayan phal), Strychnos nux vomica (Kuchila), Cassia Fistula (Amaltás), Phyllanthus Emblica (Aonla), Mimosa Khadira (Khayár), Chirounjia Sapida, Sapindus Saponaria, Spondias Mangifera, Semecarpus Anacardium (Bhila), Karanj or Galedupa Arborea, &c. The following trees likewise very commonly occur, viz. Asin (Pentaptera tomentosa,) Geringa a species of Pterospermum, Lodh, (query, Phyllanthus Longifolius ?) Pátali (Bignonia Suaveolens), besides the steady companions of all Indian sylvan scenery, the Tamarind, Mango, Bamboo, Bur and Peepul (Ficus Indica and Religiosa). The produce of the above is collected by the wild inhabitants of the jungles for sale in the Cuttack market, by which traffic chiefly they gain a livelihood. A gigantic climbing Bauhinia forms a very conspicuous object in these woods, which I suspect to be the Bauhinia Racemosa described by Dr. Wallich in the 12th volume of the Asiatic Researches. The name given by the natives is Siahrí. The leaves are much used for thatching their miserable huts, and the fibres of the bark serve to bind down the thatch, and to make mats. The fruit is a huge legume of a wooden consistency, containing from four to six round flat seeds, which have a sweetish pleasant taste not unlike the flavour of almonds, and are eaten with great relish by the hill people. Amongst the underwood one observes, in great quantities, several species of Mimosas, Euphorbias, and Justicias, the Jatropha Curcas, Cappa·is trifoliata, a Cassia with a pale yellow flower, the wild Corunda which at most times of the year is loaded with delicate white blossoms, the Samalú (Vitex trifoliata,) Asclepias Gigantea, a white Ixora, and a vast number of

thorny shrubs, which probably have never yet been honored with a place and name in any system of botany. It is remarkable that the natives have a name for almost every plant, however humble or devoid of beauty, which may arise perhaps from the circumstance of their consuming the wild berries and fruits, to a very great extent, in aid of their limited means of subsistence. The Calamus Rotang, or ground Cane, is every where common, and seems in many parts to form a sort of Nucleus, about which the other brushwood and jungle collects in small patches. During the hot months and the rains the rich and gaudy flowers of the Capparis trifoliata,* called by the natives Barun, and the scarlet blossoms of the Palás (Butea frondosa,) interspersed with quantities of the Gloriosa superba, which grows quite wild, lend an air of splendour and gaiety even to these cheerless and uninviting tracts of jungle. In the cold weather they receive another brilliant tinge of colouring from a parasitical plant the Loranthus Bicolor, of scarlet and yellow hue, which covers the larger trees in great profusion, and from the young floral leaves as well as the inflorescence of a sort of creeper, the Combretum Decandrum, which ascends and overhangs the whole woods in large whitish masses, distinguishable by the contrast of their hue from a considerable distance. Amongst the bulbous, monandrous, and gramineous plants, which bedeck or clothe the surface of the ground, a species of Pancratium, the wild turmeric, and the Andropogon aciculatum and muricatum occur most frequently. In the pools and marshes, water-lilies of all colours, and also the true Lotus, sacred Bean Lily or Nelumbium speciosum, are found in abundance.

The vegetable dies procured from the hills, are chiefly the Bacam or Sappan wood, the Aal or Achú (Morinda citrifolia,) the culture of which is little attended to in the plains, and the flowers of the Butea frondosa.

* There are two species of the Capparis in this district, or perhaps they are only varieties of the Capparis Trifoliata. The one grows as a straggling shrub, and has a remarkably rich and beautiful blosso n, the petals of which are, when young, pale green, afterwards yellow, and the stamina of a bright purple hue. The other rises to the height of a small tree. The leaves of the latter grow in threes, exactly answering to the specific character, and the flower is pretty, but less superb, than that of the first mentioned sort. The natives distinguish them by the appellations of *Arun* and *Barun*.

Lakh, Tesser or wild silk, wax, honey, and Dhúna or Indian pitch, are reckoned the most valuable articles of forest produce or *Baukar*, and are procurable in great quantities on nearly every hill estate. The Cocoons of the wild silk, are much larger than those of the real worm, and are found generally attached to the leaves of a tree called the Asin (Pentaptera tomentosa.)

The woods which skirt the western frontier of Cuttack, as well as the forests of the interior, are filled with wild animals, such as Tygers, Leopards, Panthers, Hyenas, Bears, Buffaloes, Deer, Antelopes, Hogs, the wild Dog called Balia or Sata Rohini, the Ghoranga an animal resembling the Nilgao, and the wild Ox denominated here the Gayal, a ferocious beast of immense size with a noble pair of horns, which has been well described in the 8th volume of the Asiatic Researches. Wild Elephants infested the jungles of Moherbenj and did great injury to the surrounding country, until a year or two back, when the Raja after having failed in every other attempt, hit upon the following method of getting rid of them. By the advice of a scientific byrágí or religious mendicant, he caused a quantity of some mineral poison (Mohrí) to be mixed up in balls of rice such as are usually given to tame Elephants, which were strewed about in the places chiefly haunted by the wild animals. The bait took effect; a great number of the Elephants were destroyed by the poison; it is said that upwards of eighty dead carcases were found, the rest decamped in alarm, and have since I understand made their appearance in the jungles of another quarter. From the inconsiderable size of the herds which frequented Moherbenj, it seems highly probable that the Elephant is not indigenous to the province, and it is said that the breed had its origin in the escape of some of the tame animals from their keepers in former ages.

I am too ignorant of the subject to attempt to speak of the Ornithology of the Cuttack province. Of all the feathered tribe that I have seen in the district, I have been most struck with the Dhanesa or Indian Bucéros, which is found in large flocks in Khúrda, and is there called the Kuchila-khái or Kuchila-eater from the circumstance of its delighting to feed on the fruit

of the Strychnos nux vomica. The bird has a most singular appearance, particularly when flying, with its long neck stretched out horizontally, and the huge protuberance rising from the upper mandible of the bill distinctly visible from a great distance. This protuberance or horn, in the Khûrda species, measures often seven inches from base to peak, and about two and a half in height from the upper mandible. The flesh is much prized by the natives, who consider it a sovereign remedy for the rheumatic pains called *Bát*, and is often kept prepared in a particular way, with spices, for four or five years. The loud screaming and chattering noise which announce always the presence of the Indian horn bill, well entitle it to its place in the Linnæan order *Picæ*.

The province of Cuttack is watered by innumerable streams, which swell into rivers of magnitude during the rains, but few of them have any current throughout the year. I shall mention only the principal rivers, as it would be tedious and endless to attempt an enumeration of the almost countless ramifications, which strike off from the larger channels about the centre of the Mogulbandi, and assumes new and independent appellations. The chief stream in name, importance, length of course, and the associations connected with it by popular superstition, is the Mahánadi, which is said to rise near Bastar, and after passing Sembelpur and Sonepur, (at which latter place it receives the waters of the Tél Nadi) it enters the Mogulbandi division at the station of Cuttack, where it throws off its principal arm the Cajori inclining to the southward, and another on the north-east face of the town called the Berúpa. Afterwards pursuing an easterly course verging to south, it sends off to the northward another large river called the Chittertola, and numerous smaller arms, until at Páradíp, it divides into two or three considerable branches, and empties itself by two principal mouths into the sea a little south of False point, having completed a course of more than 500 miles. The breadth of this river at Sembelpur, 160 miles distant from Cuttack, is nearly a mile during the rains, and opposite to the town of Cuttack its bed measures full two miles across. After this, the main channel narrows very considerably. It deposits universally a coarse sand (intermixed with numerous frag-

ments of different coloured quartz and scales of Mica) destructive of course to the fertility of any land on which it may be carried by inundation, and its bottom is singularly irregular and uneven. During the rains the Mahánadi may be navigated as far nearly as Ryepur distant fully 300 miles from the point of confluence with the sea, though the passage is rendered difficult in the higher parts by rocks. A great portion of the bed however is dry for five or six months of the year, and it is fordable from January to June, even at the town of Cuttack.

The principal channel of the Cajorí terminates in the Alankar which is deep and narrow, and pursues a singularly tortuous course until it is lost amidst a variety of smaller ramifications. About half way between Cuttack and the sea, the Cajorí sends off a large branch which after dividing, doubling upon itself, and again branching out in indescribable intricacies, enters the sea at last in a broad channel about forty miles north of the Black Pagoda, under the name of the Deb Nadi. Another large stream leaves the above opposite to Cuttack, and subsequently divides into three principal rivers, the Bhárgabí, Dayá, and Kúsbhadrá which flow south inclining a little to the East. The latter enters the sea between the Black Pagoda and Pooree. The two former uniting again into one stream, discharge their waters into the Chilka lake (as do other branches of the Bhárgabí) called by various names at different stages of their course, and finally the Harchandí. All these deposit coarse sand like the parent stream.

Next to the Mahánadi, the Brahmaní and the Byteriní are the most important rivers of the district. The former, soon after entering the Mogulbandi, throws off a branch called the Karsua which equals either in size. All the three, after frequently dividing and branching off, unite with the Berúpa (before mentioned as an arm of the Mahánadi) at different points of their courses, and flow into the Mahánadi in two or three large channels forming the Kanka Island or Delta near Point Palmyras. Some of these rivers deposit a portion of fertilizing mud near the mouth, as well as much coarse sand.

To the northward of the above, the Solandi, Kaus Bans, Burabalang and the Subanrekha, are all respectable rivers, more especially the two latter. They deposit near their mouths a considerable quantity of fine mud as well as sand.

The whole of the Mogulbandi between the Chilka lake and the Brahmani river, is peculiarly subject to inundation from its proximity to the hills, and the astonishing rapidity with which the torrents descend in the rains; the strange conformation of the channels of some of the principal rivers, which are very broad within the hills, but divide soon after leaving them into a number of narrow streams; and also from the practice which has existed from very old times of using embankments. As an instance of rapid rise, it deserves to be recorded that, during the heavy rains of 1817, the waters of the Cajorí rose in one night a height of eighteen feet, as ascertained by careful measurement. This immense volume of water, which was then perhaps one and a half mile in breadth by thirty or forty feet depth, over-topped the general level of the town and station by a height of nearly six feet, and was only restrained from overwhelming them, by a solid embankment faced with stone and supported by buttresses, the work of former governments. The defence alluded to, however, called the revetment, has yielded in places within the memory of man, and the consequences were of course most tremendous. The Cuttack rivers are generally swollen to an extreme height about three times during each rainy season, and at such periods the crops and villages in many portions of the district, are exposed to imminent hazard. To guard against the evil as much as practicable, embankments have been always maintained by government, at a large expense. Such works are indispensibly necessary in the state to which things have been brought, but they obviously only aggravate the evil in the long run, and sometimes occasion direct mischief, by being injudiciously constructed to suit the interests of particular parties, without a due advertence to the general welfare. The embankments or *bunds* are solid mounds of earth well sloped and turfed on either side, the principal ones measuring from forty to fifty and sixty feet in breadth, and eight to sixteen in height. The havoc occa-

sioned by the bursting of one of these large bunds is generally most serious. The torrent rushes through with a frightful roar and velocity, tearing up trees by the roots, prostrating houses, and washing clean away every trace of the labours of the peasantry. The devastations of the flood too are in general more permanently commemorated, by a deposit of coarse sand, which renders the soil in the neighbourhood of the breach unfit for tillage for years afterwards.

The Chilka lake forms too material a feature in the geography of Orissa Proper, to be passed over unnoticed in this paper. The general opinion of Europeans, on a casual inspection, has been that it was formed by an irruption of the ocean, and it is worthy of remark that the native histories record the occurrence of such an event, about the beginning of the third century of the Christian æra, to which they universally ascribe the formation of the Chilka. It is separated from the sea for many miles by a long narrow strip of sand, seldom more than three hundred yards in breadth, and discharges its waters by an outfall, which has been lately excavated about a mile north of Manikpatam, the old one having become nearly choked up with sand. Its form is very irregular, the greatest diameters measuring from N. E. to S. W. thirty-five, and from E. by N. to W. by S. eighteen miles. To the southward, it is divided into numerous narrow channels by large inhabited islands, and for a long way it can scarcely be distinguished from the channel of the Harchandí, which flows into it. The general depth is about four or five feet, greatest depth six feet; and it is considered to be rapidly filling up from the sand and mud brought into it by the Dayá, Bhárgabí, and various smaller streams, which empty their waters into that basin. The Pergunnahs Rahang, Seraen, Chowbiskúd, Killahs Roreng, Kokla, Khúrda, and the Jagir of Kerar Mohammed, encircle or touch its shores for nearly two-thirds of the whole circumference. On the Ganjam side the hill estates of Calicote and Palúr occupy the remaining interval. The lake is valuable to the Company for the salt which it yields, called Karkach, obtained by solar evaporation, of which nearly two lacs of mands are obtained

annually, on the Jagir of Kerar Mohammed, and to the inhabitants of its vicinity for its fishery, the produce of which when dried, forms a considerable article of export. On the Cuttack side its shores are flat, marshy, and destitute of picturesque beauty, but the opposite banks from Banpúr to Rhamba exhibit scenery of a very romantic and diversified character. The hills of Khúrda, Gúmser, and Calicote, are seen extending along the whole of the south western face in irregular chains and groups of moderate elevation, some of which jut into the lake, forming low rocky points or promontories. The Chilka itself, north of Palúr, expands into a majestic sheet of water, interspersed with a few rocky Islands, and enlivened by boats either sailing along before the wind, or forced on by punting with bamboo poles called laggis, or stationary for the purposes of fishing. If the visitor is curious enough to approach these islands, he will be struck with their singular conformation. They consist entirely of huge rounded blocks of a highly indurated porphyritic granite, containing large crystals of felspar, on which the hammer will scarcely make any impression, tossed and piled on each other in the wildest confusion, and exhibiting every symptom of violent convulsion and disturbance. Some of the masses are arranged in the form of fortresses with huge round bastions, and others present much the appearance of some grand edifice of ancient days, in ruins. A scanty soil which has formed on their summit, by what process one cannot readily conceive, gives nourishment to a few peepul trees, mimosas, euphorbias, and gramineous plants. They are the resort of numerous aquatic birds, chiefly of the Saras kind, who enjoy exclusive and undisturbed possession, except when roused occasionally by the approach of a chance visitor.

The only collections of houses which deserve the name of Towns in Orissa Proper are, Cuttack, Balasore, and Jagannath. Jajpur, though a place of great sanctity in the estimation of the Hindus, and the site of an ancient capital, is merely a large village. The more important Kesbehs, or head Villages of Pergunnahs are, Badrak, Soro, Kendrápari, Asserajsar, Hariharpore, and Pipley, but these are of small size, and nearly all the

rest of the Cuttack Mouzahs are mere hamlets, if we except the villages of the Sasan Brahmins. The country of Rajwára does not, I believe, contain a single respectable village.

The extent, appearance and population of the Town of Cuttack, are not unsuitable to its rank as the capital of a large province. Its situation on a tongue of land or peninsula, near the bifurcation of the Mahánadi, is commanding both in a political and commercial point of view, though these advantages have been in some degree counterbalanced, by the outlay incurred in defending it by stone revetments, from the encroachment of the rivers which wash two of its sides. The hilly country of Rajwára seen from its environs furnishes a pleasing and picturesque prospect.

The real etymology of the word Cuttack is *Katak* signifying in Sanscrit a royal residence, or seat of empire. It was one of the five Kataks, or Capitals of Gangeswara Deo, the second prince of the Gang Bans line, and is still distinguished by the natives as Katak Bránasí or *Benares*, by which name also it is mentioned in Ferishteh's History of Bengal, and in the Ayin Acberi. The denomination Bránasí, however, has been in latter times confined mostly to a village, or Patna, which stands near the point of separation of the Mahánadi and Cajorí rivers, about four miles distant from the town. Authorities vary as to the date of the foundation of Katak Bránasí, but there seems good reason to think that it became a capital city as early as the end of the tenth century, during the reign of the Kesarí princes. Chowdwar, Jajpur, and Pipley, divided with it at different periods, the honor and advantage of accommodating the Hindu court of Orissa.

The only monument of the Gajpati Rajas which their ancient capital exhibits, is the fortress of Barabati, built probably in the 14th century by Raja Anang Bhím Deo. Some ascribe its erection to Telinga Mukund Deo, the last of the independant sovereigns of Orissa, and others refer it back to a period as early as the times of the Kesarí dynasty. However that point may stand, its square sloping towers or bastions, and

general style, bespeak clearly a Hindu origin. The Mohammedan or Marhatta governors added a round bastion at the N. W. angle, and constructed the great arched gateway in the eastern face, which alterations are alluded to in a Persian inscription, giving for the date of the repairs and additions, according to the rules of the Abjed,* the fourth year of the reign of Ahmed Shah or A. D. 1750. The fort has double walls built of stone, the inner of which enclose a rectangular area measuring 2150 by 1800 feet. The entrance lies through a grand gateway on the east, flanked by two lofty square towers, having the sides inclining inwards, from the base to the summit. A noble ditch faced with masonry surrounds the whole, measuring in the broadest part two hundred and twenty feet across. From the centre of the fort rises a huge square bastion or cavalier supporting a flag staff. This feature, combined with the loftiness of the battlements on the river face, give to the edifice an imposing, castellated appearance, so much so that the whole when seen from the opposite bank of the Mahánadi, presented to the imagination of Mr. La Motte, who travelled through the province in 1767 A. D. some resemblance to the west side of Windsor Castle. No traces of the famous palace of Raja Mukand Deo nine stories in height, mentioned in the Ayin Acberi, are to be found within the walls of fort Barabati, but the fragments of sculptured cornices, &c. which have been dug up at different times, and more especially a massive candelabra, or pillar furnished with branches for holding lights, formed of the fine grey indurated chlorite or pot stone, are probably the remains of some large and splendid edifice.

The only Mohammedan monuments worthy of notice at the capital, are a small neat mosque built by Ikram Khan, a governor during Arangzeb's reign, towards the centre of the town, and the Kadam Rasool, an antique looking edifice standing in the midst of a fine garden, which contains certain reliques of the prophet commissioned from Mecca by the Newab Nazim Shújaa úd Dín Khan, or his son Mahommed Taki Khan, the latter of

* The lines are as follows: زهاتف بپرسید تاریخ گفتا رکوناته دروازه قایم مدام

whom lies buried within the enclosure. The Mogul and Marhatta Subadars always resided in the palace of the Lal Bagh on the banks of the Cajorí, which we must suppose to be the "Stately Court of Malcandy," (whatever that word may mean,) described by Mr. Cartwright who visited the "Governor of *Coteke*" in 1632, though there are no traces of splendour remaining to warrant the high wrought description of the palace, given in Bruton's narration.

The Town of Cuttack contains a population of about 40,000 souls, residing in 6,512 houses, exclusive of cantonments, amongst which are several fine mansions of stone that belonged formerly to the Gosain and Parwar merchants, who engrossed all the trade and principal official employments of the province under the Marhattas. It is divided into a number of Mehallas and Bazars, named after the Sirdars who founded, or the trades or classes residing principally in them, as the Tatar Khan, Alí Shah, Uria, Telinga, &c. Bazar. The Chandni Chouk is a fine broad street, consisting of neat stone houses disposed with much regularity, but owes its respectable appearance chiefly to European interference. There is of course no deficiency of small modern temples in and about the town, amongst which that dedicated to Sita Ram is the most conspicuous both in size and form; and from its existence having been officially recognized by the British Regulations, vide Section XXX. Regulation XII. 1805.

Balasore, distant about 105 miles from Cuttack, is a large straggling town, containing several small brick houses inhabited by merchants, who carry on an inconsiderable traffic with Calcutta. Its situation is extremely unfavourable, on a low dreary plain, deformed by numerous unsightly ridges and ant hills, near the muddy banks of the Búra Balang, and it is considered in consequence unhealthy during the rainy season. The number of inhabitants does not exceed 10,000. Balasore is nevertheless the principal port of the district, and is provided with dry docks on the banks of the river, to which sloops, drawing not more than fourteen feet water, can be floated during the spring tides. It is frequented chiefly by three descrip-

tions of country craft, viz. Maldive vessels, the boats employed in transporting the Company's salt to the presidency, and a class of sloops built at Contai and Hidgelly called Holas, which come in great numbers during the cold weather to carry off rice to Calcutta.

The importance formerly attached to this station, in the infancy of the commerce between the western hemisphere and Bengal, is attested by the remains of the factories of four European nations, English, French, Danish, and Dutch. Traces of a Portuguese establishment are also to be observed, in the ruins of a small Roman Catholic Chapel within the town, having a wooden cross over the principal doorway. The Dutch seem to have been settled here prior to 1660 A. D.; at least that date is discoverable on two curious monumental pyramids of masonry, which rise near the factory. We know that the English formed their first Bengal establishment at Pipley on the Subanrekha in 1640 A. D. and the date 1684 A. D. is to be observed on a tomb in the English burying-ground at the place. The magnitude of the Company's establishment here, may be estimated from the number of large obelisks and obituary columns still standing in the burying-ground, erected to the memory of our predecessors who ended their days in this remote corner. The English had likewise a fine country house surrounded with gardens, at a place called Balramgerhi near the sea, the remains of which may still be seen, and will always be viewed with interest from its having afforded a temporary shelter to several of the Company's servants, when Calcutta was captured by the armies of Seraj úd Dowlah in 1756 A. D.

The trade of the place was important formerly, from the Sannahs and fine Muslins manufactured there, and likewise at Badrak and Soro, the demand for which has now almost entirely ceased. The drugs and dies imported from the hills, may have constituted also a considerable article of export. Balasore however, doubtless, derived its principal consequence as the site of a factory, from its convenience for carrying on a commerce with Bengal Proper, before permission had been obtained to establish settlements within that province itself.

The town of Púrí Jagannáth owes its size and importance entirely to its connection with the temple. It contains 5741 houses. Every span of it is holy ground, and the whole of the land is held free of rent, on the tenure of performing certain services, in and about the temple. The principal street is composed almost entirely of the religious establishments called Mat'hs, built of masonry, having low pillared verandas in front, and plantations of trees interspersed. Being very wide, with the temple rising majestically at the southern end, it presents by no means an unpicturesque appearance, but the filth and stench, the swarms of religious mendicants and other nauseous objects, which offend one's senses in every part of the town, quite dispel any illusion which the scene might otherwise possess. Fine luxuriant gardens and groves enclose the town on the land side, and produce the best fruit in the province. The stately and beautiful Callophyllum Inophyllum, called by Dr. Ainslie the Alexandrian Laurel, grows here in great abundance, and the Cashew-nut thrives with peculiar luxuriance. The environs exhibit some fine tanks, as the Indra Daman, Chandan, Márkandeswar Talao, &c. which are supposed to be very ancient; and the inquisitive stranger who may be disposed to explore amidst the sand hills situated between the sea and the S. W. face of the town, will find many ancient and curious looking religious edifices, nearly overwhelmed with sand, to excite and reward attention.

The climate of Jagannáth, is the most agreeable and salubrious probably in all India, during the hot months from March to July. At this season the south-west monsoon blows from the sea in a steady and refreshing breeze, which seldom fails until the approach of the rains, and every door and window is thrown open to court its entrance. A visit to Jagannáth has in some cases proved as beneficial to the European constitution, as a sea voyage.

Manufactures, &c.

The Manufactures and Trade of Orissa Proper are very inconsiderable and unimportant. A sufficiency of the coarser cloths is made for the use of the inhabitants, in all parts of the district. The Calicoes of Balasore, Soro,

Badrak, Janjipur and Hariharpur, were once much prized and sought after under the name of Sannahs, but the demand for the finer fabrics of that description having long since greatly declined, the quantity now manufactured is very trifling. At Piply Niur a good sort of quilt is made.

The province must certainly, a century or two since, have afforded some encouragement to the resort of European traders, as besides the large establishment at Balasore, the English had inferior factories or kothis at the town of Cuttack itself, and at Hariharpur, a village between that station and the sea. At present the whole value of the exports and imports, which pay duty, is only Sa. Rs. 2,97,285, and the customs and transit duties collected at the several small ports and inland chokies from the Subanrekha to the Dhamrá river, do not exceed Sa. Rs. 30,000 per annum. The exports liable to duty are as follows :—Piece goods, bees wax, iron, kut'h (the inspissated juice of the khayar or mimosa chadira,) oil, lac, stone plates, sal timber, congní wood, kúrbeli, shúrbeli and petty articles.

A considerable exportation of rice takes place from the several small ports along the coast to Calcutta. The horned cattle and swine of the district also are carried out in large herds for the supply of the presidency market. The quantity of salt now transported from the district by private individuals, in the course of legal and open traffic, does not perhaps exceed 20,000 maunds annually ; but formerly salt was an important article of export by way of the great road leading along the Mahánadi to Sembelpur and Berar, and likewise by that of the Bamangati pass in Moherbanj, more than three lacs of maunds being exported annually. The dried fish and prawns of the Chilka lake may be noticed as an article of traffic, between the inhabitants of the hills, and those of the low country in that quarter.

Piece goods, silk, good tobacco, and every thing in the shape of a luxury, are imported from the adjoining districts of Bengal, and a small supply of cowries, cocoanuts, coral, and dried fish is obtained from the few Maldive vessels, which resort annually to Balasore and Dhamra, to take on board cargoes of rice and earthen pots.

Casts, Manners, Population, &c.

The four great tribes into which the Hindu part of the population is divided, are of course the same in Orissa as elsewhere, and have the same origin ascribed to them. The ordinary casts and professions of the province are known by the name of the thirty-six Páthaks "*Chattís Páthak*," the individuals composing which are all either Súdras, or of what is called the "Sankara Verna," that is, a mixed impure race, proceeding from the promiscuous intercourse of some of the four tribes in the first instance, and again from their commerce with the descendants of such a connection, or the indiscriminate cohabitation of those descendants amongst one another. Páthak signifies literally a learner, it being the duty of the whole of these casts either to perform service to the three higher tribes, or if they cannot gain a livelihood in that way, to *learn* the various arts and trades which are useful to Society.

Of the Utcala Brahmins, I shall speak more particularly below. The proper, genuine Khetris, are I believe considered to be extinct, and those who represent them are by the learned held to be only Súdras. There are eight classes or families who claim to represent the military and regal tribe, known by the affixes or titles of Dhir, Dhal, Towang, Mal, Bhanj, Raï, Ráwat, and Khandait. The only professions of the pure Vaisya or Byse tribe, in Cuttack, are the two classes of Baniyas called the Gandha Baniya or druggist, and Sverna Baniya or money changer. The following are considered apparently genuine Súdras, viz. The Gowala (Gopa) milkman; Bhandári (napita), barber; Gowria (Gourakara) vender of sugar; the Chasa (Krishakara) or husbandman; and the Tálica or seller of Areca nut. The designation of *Or* or *Odra* is applied as it were *par excellence* to the class of husbandmen, who are commonly called Or Chasa. Such of that tribe as perform the duties of Paiks in the hills, and of sirdar village watchmen in the plains, are called Or Paik and Or Khandait.

The first set of the mixed casts or (Sankara Verna) springing from intermarriage of original tribes, chiefly Byse and Sooder, and which with excep-

tion to the two last, rank next below the pure Súdra, is composed as follows, viz.

Ooria	*Sanscrit.*	*Occupations.*
Málí,	Málácára,	Gardener.
Lohár,	Karmakára,	Iron smith.
Sankarí,	Sanc'hacára,	Worker in shells.
Tantí,	Tantraváya,	Weaver.
Kúmhar,	Cumbhacára,	Potter.
Kansárí,	Causacára,	Brazier or rather worker in bell metal.
Barhai,	Sutracára,	Carpenter.
Chitrkár,	Chitracára,	Painter.
Sonár,	Swernacára,	Goldsmith.
Kewat,	Caiverta,	Fisherman.
Bed,	Vaidya,	Physician.
Maintí,	Carańa,	The Writer or Secretary class.
Bawarí,	Berbera, or Berber,	Labourers.
Chandál,	Chandála,	performs the lowest and most degrading offices.

The last mentioned, the Chandál, is described to be the offspring of a Súdra father and Brahmin mother, and is considered here as elsewhere, to be the most degraded of the human species. Some make the founders of the first nine trades to have sprung from Viswakarma by a Súdra woman; and the physician they derive from the cohabitation of the god Aswinikumar with a Brahmin female. The Pathariya or stone cutter and Kutwya or sawyer are likewise introduced into some enumerations, as forming separate trades, of the same origin with the carpenter and iron smith.

A second set is derived from the promiscuous intercourse of the above casts with each other, and are as follows:

Oorias.	*Sanscrit.*	*Occupations.*
Teli,	Tailica,	Oilman.
Tiür,	Tivara,	Fisherman.
Chamar,	Charmacára,	Leather dresser.
Sundi,	Sundika,	Wine seller.
Dhobi,	Rajaka,	Washerman.
Magora,	Vyadhi,	Huntsman.
Naik,	Jyotishi,	Astrologer.
Shewala,	Madhuká,	Confectioner and toddy seller.
Dom,	Dombha,	Matmaker.
Patra,	Pátucara,	Cloth seller and weaver.
Tula Bhania,	Tula Bhedara,	Cotton beater.
Kandra,	Danda Pasika,	Village watchman.
Chúnárí,	————	Lime maker.
Pandra or Pan,	————	Cane maker.
Shiputi,	————	Taylor.
Baldia Teli, Chiria Mar, Bindhani, Hári,	————	Perform the lowest offices.

In some lists, the Rúpacára or maker of gods, appears amongst the mixed classes, as the follower of a separate trade, but I cannot learn how he ranks, compared with others of the degraded class. The Patra or cloth seller and weaver, branches out into the following subdivisions, viz. Sakuli, Pangani, Hansi, Matia, Ashti, Gola, Sara, Bona; and the fisherman as follows, Rarhi, Khatwa, Newnlea, Kartiya, Gokha and Panua. The three tribes called Dom, Pan, and Hári, furnish the village musicians. They are termed in Sanscrit Antavasi, or those who live in the most abject state.

The remaining caste are the wild tribes of the hills, called Kole, Khand and Sour by the Oorias, and in Sanscrit "*Pulinda*" (a word signifying mlechcha and barbarian) who scarcely belong to the great Hindu family.

The Odra or Utcala Brahmins, are one of the ten original races of Saca Dwipa Brahmanas, taking their names from the countries which they inhabit, viz. Gaura, Saraswati, Canyacubja or Cannouj, Mait'hila, *Utcala*, Tailanga, Carnata, Maharashtra, and Dravira. Their duties are said to be *Yajana*, *Adhyayan*, and *Dan*, or sacrificing, reading the Vedas, and giving alms; and their regular means of subsistence *Yájan*, *Adhyápan* and *Pratigraha*, or officiating at sacrifices, teaching the Vedas, and receiving charity. If they cannot gain an adequate livelihood by the regular modes, they may eat at a feast in the house of a Súdra, or receive charity from one of that class; also they may cut firewood from the hills and jungles, and sell it. Should these resources fail, they may, after fasting for three days, steal a little rice from the house of a Brahmin or any other, in order that the king hearing of their distress by this means, may assign something for their maintenance. Should all these expedients prove insufficient, they may engage in the duties of the Cshatrïya and Vaisya, but as soon as they have collected a little property, they must repent and return to their original occupations. The Brahmins who confine themselves to the six duties and employments above noticed, are of course the most honoured and esteemed. Inferior Brahmins are those called Devalaca, and Grama Yájaka, who attend the village gods, and perform funeral obsequies for hire. There is another class known commonly in Orissa by the name of Mahast'han or *Mastan* Brahmins, who form a very considerable and important class of the rural population. Besides cultivating with their own hands, gardens of the kachu (Arum Indicum), cocoanut, and Areca, and the piper beetle or pan, they very frequently follow the plough, from which circumstance they are called Halia Brahmins, and they are found every where in great numbers in the situation of Moqeddems and Serberakars, or hereditary renters of villages. Those who handle the plough glory in their occupation, and affect to despise the *Bed* or Veda Brahmins, who live upon alms. Though held in no estimation whatever by the pious Hindu, and although not free from some of the vices of the Brahmin character, viz. audacity, stubbornness and mendacity, they are unquestionably the most enterprizing, intelligent, and industrious of all the Company's ryots or rent-

ers of malguzari land, in Orissa. Their moral and intellectual worth indeed, seems to rise exactly in proportion to their emancipation from those shackles of prejudice and superstitious observances, which narrow the minds, and debase the natures of the higher and orthodox class. I have not been able to trace satisfactorily the origin and history of these Mastan Brahmins, who I am informed resemble exactly the cultivating Brahmins of Tirhoot and Behar, but the point is one well worthy of investigation.

Character, Manners, &c. People of the plains.

The Orias as a nation are justly described by Abul Fazl to be very effeminate, that is they are extremely deficient in manly spirit, their figures are slight and delicate, and the costume of the males has little to distinguish it from that of the females, except the different manner of wearing the cloth fastened about the loins. They are moreover equally ignorant and stupid. Orissa might be termed the Bœotia of India, with reference to the intellectual dullness of its inhabitants, as compared with the people of any other province. A striking proof of the estimation in which their capacity has been ever held, is the fact, that in all ages and under all governments since the downfal of the Orissan monarchy, the principal official employments throughout the province have been engrossed by foreigners--by Bengalees, north, and Telingas, south of the Chilka Lake—owing I really believe in a great measure to the difficulty of selecting from its indigenous population, persons properly qualified for trusts of difficulty and importance. The mass of the people are little prone to the commission of crimes of a daring and heinous character, as might be inferred from the feminine spirit above ascribed to them; but they are well versed in all the arts of low cunning, dissimulation, and subterfuge, and the love of intrigue forms a prominent feature in their character, however clumsy many of their attempts to mislead or circumvent. Their manners are sufficiently dissolute, a failing not to be wondered at considering the obscene character, and impure symbols, of the demoralizing religion which they profess. In justice however to the bulk of the agricultural population it must be said that the *ryots* of Cuttack are extremely industrious, though they work with little spirit or intelligence, and altogether the Orias of the plains, whatever

their faults, are certainly the most mild, quiet, inoffensive, and easily managed people in the Company's provinces. They furnish too a valuable class of servants known as the Balasore bearers, in whom the virtues of fidelity and honesty (according to their own conception of those qualities) are conspicuous.

Population of the hill countries.

The inhabitants of the hills, and of the jungles on the sea shore, differ chiefly from the population of the Mogalbandi, in that they are more shy, sullen, inhospitable, and uncivilized than the latter. Their chiefs, the Khandaits or ancient Zemindars of Orissa, who claim to represent the regal and military class, are grossly stupid, barbarous, debauched, tyrannical, and slaves of the most grovelling superstition. Whatever the cause of the degradation ascribed to them in a very curious passage of the Institutes of Menu, if *subjection to Brahmins* could redeem their lost dignity, they have long since entitled themselves to the recovery of their station amidst the four great classes of the Hindu nation. The passage above alluded to is this, "The following races of Cshatriyas by their omission of holy rites, and by "*seeing no Brahmins*, have gradually sunk amongst men to the lowest of "the four classes, viz. Paundracas, *Odras** and Draviras, Cambojas, *Ya*-"*vanas* and Sakas; Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Ciratas, Deradas, and "Chasas." The Paiks or landed militia of the Rajwara, combine with the most profound barbarism, and the blindest devotion to the will of their chiefs, a ferocity and unquietness of disposition, which have ever rendered them an important and formidable class of the population of the province. They comprehend all casts and classes, chiefly perhaps the Chasa or cultivating tribe; occasionally individuals of the lowest casts are found amongst them, as Kandras, Pans and *Bawaris* (Sanscritic Berber or Barbarians:) and the fashion has often prevailed of adopting into their order some of the more savage inhabitants of the remote hills, called Kands, as also even Mussulmans and Telingas. It is well known that they are paid by service lands, which they cultivate with their own hands in time of peace,

* Qorias.

subject to the performance of military and rude police duties whenever called upon by their chiefs. Abulfazl states the number of Paiks or zemindari militia (in the original, Sipah-i-zemindari) liable to be required for the service of the state according to the conditions of the tenure of the zemindars, at about 1,55,000 for the present districts of Cuttack and Midnapore, which probably formed but a small part of the entire force maintained by those chiefs. The Paiks of this part of the country are divided into three ranks distinguished by names taken from their occupations, or the weapons which they use chiefly, viz.

1st. The Pahris, who carry a large shield made of wood covered with hides and strengthened by knobs and circles of iron, and the long straight national sword of Orissa, called the khanda. They are stationed chiefly as guards.

2nd. The Banüa, who use the matchlock principally now (in lieu of their old missile weapons), but have besides a small shield and sword. It was their duty to take the field principally and go on distant expeditions.

3rdly. The Dhenkiyas who are armed with bows and arrows, and a sword, and perform all sorts of duties.

The war dress of the *Paiks* consists, or did consist, of a cap and vest made of the skin of the tyger or leopard; a sort of chain armour for the body and thighs; and a girdle formed of the tail of some wild animal. Besides the terror inspired by these unusual habiliments, they farther heightened the ferocity of their appearance by staining their limbs with yellow clay, and their countenances with vermillion, thus exhibiting altogether as savage and fantastic an air, as one can well conceive to invest the national army of any country or people. However wild and motley their appearance and composition, they certainly did not fight badly, when encouraged at least by the proximity of their jungles, since we find them con-

stantly sustaining the most bloody battles with the Moguls, and it may be doubted whether they were not superior to any infantry which the Berar Marhattas ever brought into the field during their government of the province.

Exclusive of the regular Ooria population of the Brahminical persuasion, there are three remarkable races inhabiting the hilly region (noticed above under the general designation of Pulinda or barbarous mountaineers) which merit a separate description in this place, I mean the Coles, Kands and Sours. They are quite distinct, the two former at least, in language, features, manners, and religion from the Hindus of the plains, and the supposition seems plausible that their ancestors may have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, prior to the arrival of the Brahmin colonists from the north who now possess India. No such tradition or belief however exists in the province. These three tribes should perhaps be considered merely as branches of the same original stock, but as the offsets, if such they are, are found under different names and circumstances in different parts of the province, it will be convenient to mention them separately.

The Coles are divided into thirteen different tribes, viz. Kol, Lurka-kol, Chowang, Sarvanti, Dhurowa, Bahúri, Bhúnian or Bhúmiah, Khandwal, Santal, Sour, Bhúmij, Batholi and Amavat. Their original country is said to be Kolant Des, which the natives describe as a hilly tract lying between Moherbanj, Sinhbhúm, Jynt, Bonye, Keonjher and Dalbhúm. They have however for many years gained possession of parts of Chota Nagpore, Jaspur, Tymar, Patcúra and particularly of Sinhbhúm; their encroachments upon Moherbanj have been felt as serious; some tribes (the Bhúniahs) are found settled in the back parts of Nilgiri, and from their restless disposition and constant endeavours to extend their possessions, they have proved troublesome neighbours even to the powerful Keonjher Raja. The Coles are a hardy and athletic race, black and ill favored in their countenances, ignorant and savage to the last degree, but their houses, built entirely of wood, are said to exhibit

a considerable degree of neatness and comfort, and they carry on a very extensive cultivation. Their arms are the bow and arrow, and a small iron battle-axe called *Tangi*, in the use of which they display much spirit and dexterity. This people own none of the Hindu divinities, and indeed seem scarcely to have any system of religious belief whatever, but four things are held by them in high veneration, the Sahajna tree (Hyperanthera Morunga,) paddy, oil expressed from the mustard seed, and the dog. In all their contracts and negociations, the leaf of the former is always introduced, and they rub each other with oil which is considered to give solemnity to the proceeding. They have also a curious method of striking a bargain or concluding a pacification, which will not fail to remind the classical reader of the origin of the word *stipulation*. I allude to the circumstance of their breaking a straw (stipula) between the disputants, a practice which always follows or precedes the final adjustment of any compact. The Coles are passionately fond of fermented liquors, and eat all kinds of flesh and grain, as well as various roots which grow spontaneously in their jungles called the Buenjkarba, Charmika, Tanka, Pachali, Páni Alu, Massia and Mánkachu. The flesh of the hog is particularly prized by them, so much so that every house of the Coles almost is said to have the appendage of a piggery. They are governed chiefly by numerous petty sirdars, or heads of villages, called Manki and Munda, but acknowledge allegiance, and in some cases pay tribute, to the hill zemindars in whose countries they are settled.

The Kands are found in great numbers in all the hill estates south of the Mahánadi. They form the principal part of the population of Killah Ranpur which has thence been called the Kandreh Dandpat. The natives also have the idea of a district situated between Daspalla, Boad, and Gúmsir, inhabited entirely by this tribe of hill people which they call *Kandra*. I believe that the vast unexplored tracts of mountain and forest lying at the back of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam hill estates, down as far as the Godaveri, are peopled chiefly by Kands in a very savage

state, who differ little probably from their neighbours the Gonds, though Captain Blunt observes on the authority of the Jaghirdar of Malúd and Manickpatam, (vide Journal of his route from Chunar to Yertnagoodum), that the Coands and Goands are to be considered quite distinct races.*

The Sours are found chiefly in the jungles of Khúrda, from Banpur to Cuttack, and in the woods of Atgerh, Daljora, &c. which skirt the foot of the hills for some way to the northward of the Mahánadí. They are in general a harmless, peaceable race, but so entirely destitute of all moral sense, that they will as readily and unscrupulously deprive a human being of life, as any wild beast of the woods, at the orders of a chief, or for the most trifling remuneration. Thus during the insurrection which prevailed in Khúrda, they were the agents employed to carry into execution most of the schemes of revenge planned by its instigators, whenever helpless individuals were to be the sacrifice, and the quantity of blood shed by the hands of these ignorant savages without motive or remorse, during the above period of anarchy and disorder, is almost incredible. In ordinary times they are considered very useful both by the zemindars and villagers, in clearing the jungles and providing fuel which are their chief means of gaining a subsistence. They likewise collect the produce of the woods, and dispose of large quantities to the druggists and fruit sellers, in the neighbouring bazars. They are distinguishable from the other natives of the province, by their inferiority of stature, mean appearance, and jet black colour, as well as by an axe for cutting wood, the symbol of their profession, which they always carry in their hand. Their language little resembles that

* The passage is as follows : "Having afterwards heard of a people who in the northern Sircars are called Coands (Kands) and whose depredations into those provinces are attended with similar acts of cruelty, I naturally conceived them to be the same tribe, but in a conversation with Kumal Mahommed, the officer in charge of the Marhatta Pergunnah of Manickpatam, and who appeared to be well acquainted with the different tribes of mountaineers subject to the Berar government, he informed me that these are a different race from the Goands. The latter he said are much larger men, and had in many instances been made good subjects, but the Coands are inferior in stature and so wild, that every attempt which had been made to civilize them had proved ineffectual."

spoken by the Oorias, and is scarcely intelligible to any but themselves. They are said to worship certain rude forms of Devi and Mahadeo or rather the Hindus so interpret the adoration paid by them to a few natural objects, as stumps of trees, masses of stone, or clefts in rocks, in which an impure imagination may discern some resemblance to the human organs of generation. Some are fixed in small villages called Sour Saïs; others lead a migratory sort of life, clearing annually spots in the jungle, where they erect huts of sticks, leaves, and grass, and sow different sorts of grain of the Millet kind, as the Jooar, Bajereh, Makye, Mandea, &c. which sprout up with extraordinary luxuriance in such situations. They will eat almost any kind of food, whether animal or vegetable. A great part of their subsistence is derived from the roots and produce of the jungles. The flowers of the Madhúka (Bassia latifolia), and the Keora,* yield them an intoxicating liquor; in lieu of rice they consume the seed of the bamboo, a very heating and indigestible food; the wild yams, arums, and other roots furnish a nutritious, and not unwholesome substitute for bread; and for a desert they have the wild mangoe, the fruit of the Bela every where abundant, and the seeds of the Bauhinia racemosa, served up on the large ribbed leaf of the Ravya (apparently a species of Dillenia), which answers the purposes of a dish.

The author of the work called the Kholaset ul Towarikh, places in the neighbourhood of Orissa, the country called the Triya or Strí Raj, where females (not amazons) exercise the powers of government, and have the upper hand in society, and in the management of all affairs. As the fable of the existence of such a country in this part of India seems to be a purely gratuitous invention of the Mahommedan writers, and is not supported either by the histories or the current belief of the natives of the province, I shall not here stop to inquire into its meaning and origin.

Language.

The language of the *Or* or *Odra* nation is a tolerably pure Bhasha (dialect) of the Sanscrit, resembling closely the Bengali, but far remote ap-

* Pandanus odoratissimus.

parently from any affinity with the Telinga. Most of the titles of which the natives are so fond are pure Sanscrit; more than three-fourths of the nouns and roots of verbs may be traced to that language, and its few simple inflections are obviously founded on the rules of the Vyakaran. The basis of the alphabet is the common Hindi or Nagari character, somewhat disguised however by a peculiarity in the mode of writing it. In the direction of Bengal, the Ooria language is used tolerably pure, following the line of the coast as far as the Hijellee and Tumlook divisions at least, I have been credibly informed that in the Mysadal Pergunnah, all revenue accounts are written on tál patr or leaves of the palmyra tree in that dialect. On the western side of the Midnapore district, the two languages begin to intermingle, at Rani Sarai about twenty miles north of the Subanrekha. A very mixed and impure bhasha is used in the Zemindari of Naraingerh and the hill estates beyond it, which improves a little at Midnapore (itself situated in a Jungle Mehal called Bhanjbhúm) and at that town becomes more decidedly Bengali. The inhabitants of the country on the north of Keerpoy (officially termed the Jungle Mehals) probably speak the language of the Bengal province quite correct and unmixed. To the westward the Gond and Ooria languages pass into each other on the estate of Sonepur, the Raja of which country informed me that half his people speak one and half the other dialect. On the south we find the first traces of the Telinga about Ganjam, where a different pronunciation may be observed. The people there call themselves *Oodiahs* and *Wodiahs*, instead of Oorias, Gerh becomes Gadda, Jagannáth, Jagannáda, &c. The language of Orissa Proper still however prevails at Baurwah forty-five miles south of Ganjam, on the low lands of the coast, and as far as the large estate of Kimedy in the hills, beyond which the Telinga begins to predominate, at Cicacole is the prevailing dialect, and in Vizagapatam, Telinga only is spoken in the open country. In the mountains of the interior, however, the dialect of the Odras is used by the bulk of the inhabitants, from Gumser down to Palcondah, Bastar, and Jayapur.

I know of no original composition deserving any notice in the language

of Orissa, excepting the Epic Poem called the Kanji Kaviri Pothí which celebrates the conquest of Conjeveram, one of the most distinguished events in the modern history of the country. There is no deficiency however of translations of the more esteemed writings of the great Hindu authors, both religious and scientific, and every temple of importance has its legend or Sthán Puran, every almanack maker his Pánji, and Bansábali, composed in the local tongue.

Estimate of the population.

In estimating the amount of the Population of the Cuttack Province I shall begin with candidly confessing, that we have no means of forming even a tolerable guess at the number of inhabitants in the hill countries. Information on that subject could be procured only from the hill Rajas or Zemindars, and such are their jealousy, contumacy, and untractableness, that we might be sure, even if they condescended to furnish any returns at all, they would be entirely false. The estimate given below for the Mogulbandi, and that portion of the Rajwára which lies between it and the sea, though mostly conjectural, is founded upon data of a nature which warrant some confidence in its accuracy. The total of villages has been tolerably well ascertained from the returns made by the Police Officers at different periods. To be enabled to strike an average for the number of houses and inhabitants, I have obtained Khaneh Shumari accounts, on which I can depend, for a few Pergunnahs, both at the northern and southern extremity of the district, and in the central parts. The results deducible are as follows:

The eighteen Police Thanas* of the Mogulbandi including the Rajwára estates of Aul, Kanka, Kujang, Herispur, Marichpur, and Bishenpur, with the whole of the smaller Killajat, contain 11,915 villages (Mouzahs and Patnas) and 243,273 houses, exclusive of the towns of Cuttack, Balasore, and Púrí. This enumeration yields an average of about twen-

* They are thus named; Basta, Balasore, Soro, Chúráman, Badrak, Mattu or Talmal, Janjipur, Patamandii, Asserassar, Arackpur, Cuttack, Puharájpur, Taran, Harihaipur, Gope, Piply, Púrí or Pursottam, Khurda, and Bánpur.

ty houses to a village, which although low compared with the Bengal average, is corroborated by actual observation of the very small size of such villages of Orissa as ordinarily meet the eye. In the three northern Thanas which comprize the poorest and most unproductive portion of the Mogulbandi, the average is scarcely nineteen; in the twelve central ones it is nearly twenty; and in the three southern ones which contain the Perguunahs adjoining Púrí, filled with the large villages of the Sásan Brahmins, it is thirty.

Again, in the first mentioned division, the ascertained number of inhabitants, men, women, and children in 1678 houses is 9576; yielding an average of rather more than five and two-third inmates for each house. In the second, 5,758 houses have been found to contain 27,643 souls, or on an average nearly four and four-fifths per house. In the southern division, 19,930 houses have been ascertained to hold 1,30,871 inmates, viz. men 33,518, women 33,903, infants 30,450, that is five and a fraction of about one-fifth per house. Adverting to these data which have been prepared with much care and accuracy, more especially in the Southern division, an average rate of five per house, for the whole district, would not appear too high. On this calculation, the entire population of the district will stand as follows:

Village Inhabitants (2,43,273 × 5) - - - - - - - - -	12,16,365
Population of the town of Cuttack, - - - - - - - - -	40,000
——————— town of Púrí, - - - - - - - - - - -	30,000
——————— town of Balasore, - - - - - - - -	10,000
Total	12,96,365

The area of the tract now under consideration, has been estimated with tolerable accuracy at about 9,000 square miles, by counting the squares into which Captain Sackville's map is divided. The result of the above calculation therefore gives to the open and cultivated part of Orissa, a population of 135 souls per square mile. That the estimate for Cuttack

should fall much below that suggested for Bengal, viz. 203 per square mile, will not surprise those who have attended to the picture drawn in the preceding part of this paper, of the general poverty of the people, and the paucity of large towns and villages.

The statements for the Pergunnahs Raheng, Seraen, Choubiskúd, Uldhar, and Rorang, which are by far the most to be relied on, yield the following proportions of the principal classes, viz.

Total number of Householders,	19,930
Chasas* or Husbandmen,	7,432
Brahmins,	3,565
Mahtís, (Carana or Writer cast,)	611
Gowalas, (Cowherds),	537
Baniyas, both Druggists and Shroffs,	232
Artisans, Manufacturers, Shopkeepers, &c. of all sorts excepting the above,	4,887
Low casts as Fishermen, Kandras, Pans, Bawaris, Chandál, &c. who furnish common labourers, coolies, village watchmen, &c.	2,420
Balance composed of Mussulmans, foreigners, mendicants and casual residents,	246

It will not be altogether uninteresting to compare the estimate here attempted of the population of Cuttack, with the sales of salt for the supply of the district. Salt is sold on the part of government at several golahs or store-houses in the interior, in quantities of not less than one maund, at the fixed monopoly price of Sicca Rupees two per maund, increased by charges of transportation, storing, commission, &c. which raise the price according

* It should be observed, that although the Chasas are the proper cultivating caste of Orissa, many of the other classes, tenant land, and pay revenue as ryots.

to circumstances to from 2 Rs. 3 As. to 2 Rs. 6 As. per maund, at the golahs. The average retail rate varies from about 2 Rs. 8 As. to 3 Rupees per maund. This system of supply has been established only since the beginning of 1818. During the last four years, the average of the public sales for consumption within the Mogalbandi, has been 2,00,000 maunds. Mr. Colebrooke considers the quantity of one-fourth of a chittack per diem to be an ample allowance for an inhabitant of Bengal. In Cuttack, an allowance of half a chittack is insisted upon by the people themselves as the usual average, when salt was cheap; and the larger individual consumption of the article in this district, is explained by a reference to the peculiar diet of the people, the villainous insipidity of which must necessarily require to be relieved by an additional mixture of salt. Abulfazl has observed of the Oorias, "After boiling their rice they steep it in cold water and eat it the second day." This stale and unpalatable species of food is still universally used under the name of *Panbhatta.* As the enhanced price of salt under the British government, which certainly amounts to from 400 to 500 per cent, may have somewhat reduced the former consumption by the poorer classes, that is the mass of the community, we shall perhaps arrive near the truth by taking a medium between the Cuttack and Bengal allowances. Some deduction too must be made on account of children under ten years, whose numbers, adopting the average suggested by the Raheng returns, may be estimated at about one-third of the whole population. The calculation of the quantity necessary for the Cuttack people will then stand as follows in round numbers:

Eight and a half lacs of adults, at between one-fourth and one-half chittacks per diem, consume annually - - - - *Mds.* 1,75,000
Four and a half lacs of infants, at rather less than one-fourth do. *Mds.* 56,200

Total consumption, *Mds.* 2,31,200

The balance required of about 30,000 maunds, may very well be supposed to be obtained by smuggling, independent of the government sales.

Revenues.

The accounts remaining to us of the most important operation in modern Indian finance, Raja Toral Mall's settlement called the Taksím Jamma and Tankhah Raqmi, are as imperfect and deficient in Orissa as in every other part of India with which I am acquainted. There can be no doubt but that a *jarib* or measurement of the lands of the three sircars Jelasir, Badrak and Cuttack, was made, under the orders and superintendence of that distinguished minister, with what is termed the Báreh Dasti Padiká or rod of twelve spans, and all the Ruqbeh accounts in the offices of the Sudder Canúngos and their Gomashtehs, are stated to be founded on that measurement. The subsequent corrections and alterations that have taken place, are said to have been made only by *Nezer Andâzi* or guess work. What is curious, the standard of the bigah, which was originally uniform, is now found to be different in every part of the district, to such an extent indeed, that in some Pergunnahs the bigah is four times the size of that nominal measure in other divisions, and all the intermediate variations frequently occur. By what rule the other great step in the settlement was adjusted, viz the determination of the rates of rent to be paid by the husbandmen for a bigah of each description, I can find no evidence or information whatever. Abulfazl in describing the Emperor's settlement for Hindustan generally, says, that an average of ten years' collection was struck.* But whether in this province which had then only recently been conquered from its Hindu sovereigns, and rescued from the destructive anarchy of the Bengal Afghans, the ancient rates were maintained, or heavier ones imposed, I cannot venture to offer any assertion. My general impression is that the fixed and regular assessment of the Moguls was heavier than that of the Hindu Rajas, but the indigenous princes of Orissa seem to have had so many methods of extorting a large revenue from their subjects, by extra demands, occasional requisitions, and irregular claims

* Vide Ayin Acberi, part 3. "For that purpose having formed an aggregate of the rates of collection from the commencement of the 15th year of the reign to the 24th inclusive, they took a tenth part of that total as the annual rate for ten years to come."

under various heads and pretexts, that the burthens of the ryot may be presumed to have been pretty much the same under either administration,

It is impossible to reconcile with any known or probable standard of collection, or any conceivable state of cultivation in the province, the account given in the Ayin Acberi and other works on Indian finance of the old Jamma of Orissa. Abulfazl rates the assessment of the entire Súba at 1,60,733,237 dams, or rupees 40,18,330, and that of the sircars Badrak and Cuttack which comprized the modern district, reaching from the Subanrekha to the Chilka lake, at 11,012,050 dams, or rupees 27,53,015, exclusive of the tribute of the hill estates.

The Père Thieffenthaler states the revenues as follows:

Selon Manouchi,	-	Rupees 57,07,500
Selon le Registre,	14,282,100 Dams,	or Rupees 16,57,800

But he justly observes " En convertissant les Dams en Roupies la somme devient beancoup plus grande." It would be 35,70,525 Rupees, and I suspect that the amount in *Dams* is intended to represent the recorded revenues of the three Northern sircars, and that below, in rupees, the Jamma of all that remained of Orissa, as a separate province at the date of the entry in the register.

The statements of the Revenue of Orissa furnished by Mr. Grant in his Analysis of the Finances of Bengal, tally nearly with those above noticed. The substance of his remarks on this point are as follows. During the reign of Shah Jehan, between 1627 and 1658 A. D. Orissa was formed into a separate Súba, and the three sircars which remained under the imperial government were subdivided into twelve, as follows, viz.

			Rupees.	Remarks.
1. Cuttack, No. of Mehals,	100	Assessed in Couris valued Mokurrery Tunkhah *Ruqmee* or Enrolled Standard of Assignment always for	33,81,023	*Inclusive* of the rated territories then in the hands of the Royal Family of Orissa and other tributary Rajas.
2. Barruah,	9			
3. Jajepore,	5			
4. Badshahnaggar,	16			
5. Badrack,	19			
6. Soro,	15			
7. Ramna,	20			
*8. Basteh,	10			
9. Jelasir,	22	The most part bestowed in Jageer at	15,80,474	
10. Maljhettiah,	21			
11. Goalpareh,	28			
12. Muzkuri,	11			
Total Mehals,	276	Rs.	49,61,497	

These "*included territories*" are afterwards stated to be thirty-two Mehals* yielding 8,73,518, of which the country under the Gajapati of Khúrda is valued at 6,15,616 Rupees. Deducting the latter amount from 33,81,023 Rupees, we have 27,65,407 Rupees which corresponds closely with the old valuation of the Ayin Acberi. This deduction must be borne in mind to enable the reader to understand Mr. Grant's subse-

* Vide Analysis, "It will be proper to deduct the valued rent of thirty-two Mehals yet unconquered or left in the possession of the Royal Family of Orissa and other tributaries though included formally in the Jamma, viz.

To Raja Dirb Sing Deo, heir of line and representative of the Royal House of Gajeputty, guardian of the Thakoor Dwareh or Jagannáth and proprietor of 11 Mehals dependent on Killah Khúrda,	6,15,616	Raotra of Mudpore,	5921
Raja Mahinder of Killa Aul,	26,121	Tegchund D'hol of Kerapore,	6170
Ramchunder, &c. of Sarungurh	36,978	Ram Sah of Nagpore, &c.	9705
Sorbesur Bhunj of Ramunhatty,	80,875	Jagannáth D'hol of Chatora,	16,175
Hurchunder of Derpun,	37,088	Mahomed Yas Kasijurah,	2000
Persotum Bhunj of Ryntoo,	10,883	Girdhur Narain of Chowrassijurah,	6235
Rugonath Sund of Coojung,	9126	Bulbhudder of Mynajura,	4700
		Naucar, &c.	5635
		In all 27 whole and 5 Kismut Mehals,	8,73,518

quent remarks when he goes on to state that Aliverdi Khan ceded to the Court of Nagpore, country assessed with an old standard revenue of Rupees 25,73,588 and that in 1768-9 the bad management of the Marhattas had reduced the Jamma to 21,20,415 Rupees. It should be written 15,04,799, as the amount of 6,15,616 was quite a nominal entry. One half of this *rated* assessment, or about three lacs, was added to the Marhatta Jamma-bandi, according to Mr. Grant, on the final dismemberment of the dominions of the Khúrda Rajas under Raja Bír Kissore Deo.

The registered assessments of the Moguls, I believe to be much higher than the province ever really paid, but there seems little prospect of this discrepance between the entries and actual collections of the imperial government (which has been noticed in other parts of the country also) receiving a satisfactory explanation. In most revenue accounts, and especially in all the bills of sale of portions of a Talúkdari or Moqeddemi authenticated by the signature of the Sudder Canúngo, which are now forthcoming, *two* Jammas are always specified. First, the Tankhah Raqmi, which is the name given to Toral Mall's assessment, and is always very high, being in fact the registered assessment above noticed, computed in Rupees. 2nd. The Jamma Kamál which falls far below the other, and is specified in couris, the common currency of the district. The best informed natives declare that the Tankhah Raqmi was an imaginary over-rated valuation, at which the lands were formerly made over in Jageer or assignment to the Officers of the Mogul government. The word "*Tankhah*" (not Takeh or Tanka) certainly ordinarily means assignment, and Mr. J. Grant, a great authority on questions of Indian Finance, appears so to have understood it in the remark above quoted, "Moqurreri Tunkhah "Ruqmi or enrolled standard of assignment, being always for the most "part bestowed in Jageer," &c. &c. There is a passage likewise in the Ayin Acberi which strongly confirms the above view of the meaning of the terms. The author says, "When Asif Khan was Vizier, the Jumma of the country was *Raqmi* or computed, and he went on increasing the *Tankhahs* just as he thought fit, "Deran Hingam ki khajeh Abdul majid Ba Vi-

zarat sir belendi dasht, Jama-i-vilayet Raqmi búd, o uncheh ba khatir mi rusid Afzudeh *Tan* mi namúdand."

The *Jamma Kamál* is stated to be a subsequent revised assessment, formed, as some will have it, by an Officer called Kamal Mohammed, but others, with more apparent probability, explain the terms to signify the real and actual Jamma, according to which the collections were made in latter times, before the country had been ruined by the Marhattas. Mr. Grant applies the word to Jaffer khan's settlement, which he calls "*Jumma Toomar Kamil.*"

I shall now proceed to furnish abstract statements of the land assessment of Cuttack according to its present dimensions, translated from revenue accounts in the private possession of the family of the former Dewan of the Marhatta government, the authenticity of which I see no reason whatever to doubt, and it is on these only I should be disposed to rely, in forming any comparison between the former and present productiveness of the revenues of Cuttack.

Taksim Jamma of the Moguls.

Thirteen Sircars (including the Darul zerb or Mint one Sircar) contain,		Mehals	297
Deduct Tehsil Bengaleh, or collected under Bengal,		Mehals	27
	Remain, Mehals		270

		Káhans.	*Pans.*
Tankhah Raqmi or Jamma of the above,	Couris	59,61,499	8

Under the Marhattas.

Tashkhís Bhoonsla, or fixed and regular Jamma under the government of the Nagpore Raja,	Rupees	2,42,236	10
	Couris, *Káhans*	47,36,803	0

viz.	*Rupees.*	*Cowries. Káhans.*
Mehalat and Thanehjat (Khalesch Land,)	2,24,079 7 0	36,42,978
Tribute of the Zemindareh or Killajat Estates,	18,157 3 0	10,93,825
	Rupees 2,42,236 10 0	K. 47,36,803

Dákhil Sircar or remitted to the Raja's Treasury at Nagpore, calculated in Rupees of sorts, - - - -	6,00,000
Kharch Sipahan o ghyreh, expences of Troops and management do. do. - - - - - - -	9,00,000
Total Rupees	15,00,000

Equal (about) to Sa. Rs. 13,50,000.

The latter sum, or Sicca Rupees 13,50,000, may be assumed as the standard Revenue of Cuttack under the Nagpore Government, and was certainly the highest amount ever realized by the Marhattas from the district, though their assessments were sometimes rated higher. The collections indeed I suspect very frequently fell short of the above standard, more especially during the last ten years of the Marhatta administration. The proportions between the net expenditure, and the remittances to Nagpore, I take to have been in a great measure nominal.

The following are the results of settlements formed by different Subahdars, taken from authentic accounts which are still extant. Some indefiniteness must attach to the statements, from the uncertainty of the rate of exchange between couris and silver, which fluctuated to from three to four káhans per deh masha rupee, during the whole of the Marhatta administration.

The settlement of Sheo Bhat Sántra for 1167 A. is entered as follows

Gold Mohurs, ...	231	0	
Rupees, of sorts, ...	3,82,829	8	
Couris, ... Káhans,	27,82,446	1	

Another settlement by Sambha Ji Ganesh in 1178 A. is entered.

Ashrafis, ...	11	0	
Rupees, of sorts, ...	5,01,394	15	
Couris, ..., ... Káhans,	42,37,666	0	

Another by Raja Ram Pandit.

Rupees, of sorts, ...	1,10,318	14	
Couris, ... Káhans,	53,37,685	0	

Another by Inkaji Suk'h Deo.

Rupees, of sorts, ...	1,51,435	0	
Couris, ... Káhans,	57,78,224	0	

On the subjugation of the province by the British government, in 1803, a rate of conversion of four káhans of couris per Sicca Rupee was assumed, and the revenues have been invariably demanded and paid entirely in silver, at least since 1807. The assessment of the British government has been raised by two successive and gradual augmentations, to the following amount, which is the recorded Jamma of the Amli year 1229.

Mogulbandi (exclusive of Pergunnah Pataspur, &c. assessed under the Marhattas, at Rs. 30,000) - - -	12,64,370
Killah Khúrda, held khás for political reasons, which paid latterly to the Marhattas a Peshcash of Sicca Rupees 10,000, -	61,169
Fixed tribute of thirty-one Khandaitis or Zemindaris of the Military Chiefs of Orissa, styled Rajas, - - - -	1,20,411
Total, Sa. Rs.	14,45,950

The excess of regular receipts under the head of land revenue alone, may be stated at from one to two lacs per annum in favor of the British government, which increase may be fairly ascribed to the improved and more enlightened system of management now pursued. The country has unquestionably in the main prospered under our administration, though much suffering was long experienced in particular quarters from injudicious measures, the errors of which have been perceived and remedied: cultivation has greatly increased in every part: and if the ryot or husbandman has not benefited by the change of government, in proportion to the superior importance of that class of the community to which he belongs, and to the benevolent intentions of the legislature, his condition must certainly be considered on the whole better than it was under the native system, whilst the higher classes connected with the soil (now acknowledged as Proprietors) have undoubtedly attained to a state of comfort, independence, and comparative opulence, quite unknown at any former period of the history of the country.

The Revenue derived from the salt monopoly, exceeds the total amount of the land rents paid to the State, and is entirely the creation of the British government. The salt sold within the province yields a net return of about 3,00,000, and the quantity annually exported to Calcutta for public sale at the salt office, produces little short of from Rupees 15,00,000 to 16,00,000. Under the heads of customs, tax on spirituous liquors, and tax on pilgrims, a further net revenue of about one lac per annum is obtained by the present government. The value of Cuttack to the Company therefore, after deducting expenses of management, may be fairly assumed at upwards of thirty lacs of Rupees per annum.

Land Tenures, and Institutions.

In surveying attentively the ancient Political Institutions of Orissa as connected with the tenure of land, it is impossible not to be struck with the marked resemblance which many of their features exhibit to the system of European policy called the feudal, at certain stages of its progress. I am strongly inclined to think that the comparison might be extended to

India generally, and that a careful enquirer would not fail to discern in every quarter of the country, obvious traces of the former existence of such a system, however irregularly defined, and liable to variation in the details, from local peculiarities. The subject has not hitherto met with that attention which its importance, more especially when viewed in connection with the much disputed question of Zemindari rights, unquestionably merits. Some writers indeed have treated with utter contempt and derision, the notion of the existence of any analogy whatever between the ancient institutions of India, and the feudal system of Europe. Others, however, of equal or greater authority, have not been able to resist the striking evidence of such affinity which presents itself in every province of India, where the Hindu form of government has been little impaired or modified. Thus, Sir J. Malcolm, page 375 of his valuable report on Malwa, observes, "The principle of this part of a Raj or *Rajput* principality, differs little from that feudal system which formerly existed in Europe, and is liable to the same vicissitudes in the relations and powers of the respective parties." But every one knows that the Rajput, is only one branch or epithet of the great Regal and Military caste amongst the Hindus, called the Cshetriya (Khetri), and anciently *all* principalities and kingdoms might in one sense be designated *Rajput*. Captain MacMurdo in an excellent paper on the province of Cutch, in vol. ii. Bombay Transactions, states, "The government of Cutch is that of a pure aristocracy, in which the power is vested in a variety of chiefs on their respective territories, which bear a strong resemblance to the feudal baronies. These chiefs have a head who is entitled Rao, to whom they owe the duty of military service with their relations and followers when called upon." The chiefs in question are afterwards described to be Rajputs. Colonel Wilford expressly applies the title of *Barons*, to the inferior Khetris, in his historical Essays on ancient India. In the essay on Anugangah we find the following curious and apposite passage, "Like Parasuráma he (Maha Bali) either destroyed or drove out of his dominions the remnant of the Cshetris or Military tribe, and placed Sudras in their room. These were the *Barons*

of the land who often proved troublesome. Raja Balwant Singh, the predecessor of Cheyt Singh did the same in the district of Benares with the *Zemindars*, who represented the *Cshetris*, and even pretended to be really so; from an idea that it was impossible to improve the revenues arising from the land tax under their management."

In this paper my remarks and illustrations regarding the former and actual state of the land tenure, will of course be confined, as far as the nature of the discussion admits, to the particular province of which I am treating.

I shall have occasion to notice again hereafter, an opinion firmly entertained by the better informed natives of Cuttack, of the ancient existence of a mighty empire, which comprised within its limits nearly the whole of India, and was ruled by a sovereign residing at Hastinapura and Delhi. A general division is believed to have obtained of the lands of the country, into the domains of the supreme Raja (now called the Khaliseh), and the jurisdictions, or fiefs, of a vast number of great Military Chiefs and feudatory Rajas, of the Khetri caste, who were dependent on and owed service to the Lord Paramount, but whose degree of subordination of course underwent constant vicissitudes, according to the circumstances of the times, and the personal character of the ruling Emperor. The most powerful Lords of this empire were the great officers of state called the Gajapati, Aswapati, Chatrapati, and Narapati, who originally held their vast possessions as dependent fiefs subject to the condition of Military service, but afterwards emancipated themselves from all control, and became independent monarchs ruling over numerous inferior Khetris.

Supposing the above view of the ancient political condition of the country at large, to be chimerical and unsupported by sufficient evidence, which however I do not admit to be the case, I proceed to state what may be safely inferred or positively affirmed of the native institutions of Orissa, under the government of its indigenous princes, from a considera-

tion of the vestiges of the old system yet actually in existence. I shall afterwards notice the changes impressed on the face of things, by the two great revolutions which the province has experienced in modern times; first, its subjection to the Mussulman, and afterwards to the British rule.

In the preceding part of my paper, I have noticed generally the great territorial divisions both natural and political which exist in this province. The extensive hilly regions and forest tracts, jungle Pergunnahs and Mehals, as they are now termed, reaching nearly from Bishenpur to the Godaveri, together with the woodland country on the sea shore of Orissa Proper, have been in all ages parcelled out among and occupied by a number of Chieftains of the Military class. These Chiefs may be safely considered as de facto proprietors of their possessions under the native governments, that is to say they held them hereditarily, exercised uncontrolled territorial jurisdiction within their limits, and appropriated the entire revenues, subject to the condition of performing Military service, or other offices and duties, at the court of their superior Raja, the Gajapati, residing mostly at Cuttack, which services have in latter ages been generally commuted for a light tribute or money payment. The more fertile and productive division of the province (now the Mogulbandi) formed the Kot, Khaliseh, or domain of the prince, from which the Hindu sovereigns of Orissa like their successors the Moguls, Marhattas, and English, derived their principal revenues. There can be no question, I think, but that this other great territorial division was the landed estate or property of the sovereign. I may observe, en passant, that such a state of things as above indicated, conforms exactly with the declaration contained in a well known passage of the digest of Hindu law translated by Mr. Colebrooke: "By conquest the earth became the property of Parasuráma: by gift the property of the sage Casyapa and committed by him to *Cshatriyas* for the sake of protection, became their protective property, successively held by powerful conquerors and not by subjects cultivating the soil." So strikingly and universally true indeed is the maxim of the property of the soil vesting in the Cshatriyas, that we find them always either asserting a title to owner-

ship in the land, which they occupy hereditarily, or in the actual enjoyment of the proprietary right, even when reduced to the situation of "*cultivating subjects*"—witness the various castes and classes of Rajput village Zemindars in every quarter of Hindustan, and the western provinces.

The feudal lords of Orissa, for such certainly may the Military Chiefs whom I have above referred to, be termed, are known and described by several different titles both in history, in official records and in the common language of the country, and these are quite indiscriminately applied, whence has resulted a corresponding confusion of ideas. They are called simply Khetris (Cshetriyas,) from their caste; Khandaits, an Orissa name for a branch (I believe a less pure one) of the same class, signifying literally persons entitled to wear the *Khanda* or national sword of Orissa; Bhúma, Bhúyan or Bhúmi derived from *Bhu*,* the earth, and synonimous with Bhupati (Lord of the soil): Poligar, a Telinga word, derived from *Pollam*, a fief: Sawant, in Persian, Sirdar, meaning Chief and Lord; Sevakan Arní Dar, or servants and vassals holding tracks of country hereditarily, on the condition of service; and finally *Zemindars*. Many of them were descended from the supreme Rajas of the country. We have Orme's authority in a remarkable passage of the 8th book of his history for the belief entertained by the Poligars south of the Chilka lake of their origin as above intimated. He says, "These conquests (made by a Raja of Orissa, some "centuries before Mahommedanism) were distributed in many portions to his "relations, officers and menial servants from whom several of the present "northern Poligars pretend to be lineally descended, and to govern at this "very time the very districts which were then given to their ancestors." It is not improbable that many of the Orissan Khandaits and Bhúmias first received estates during the 12th century of the Christian æra, in Raja Anang

* Mr. Elliot, in his observations on the inhabitants of the Garrow hills transmitted to the Asiatic Society, observes, "The head people of the villages are called *Boomiahs*, a name used by the *head Rajas* of *Bengal* when the king resided at Gour" In the Ayin Acberi, the word Boomi, derived from *Boom*, the soil, is continually used as synonimous with Zemindar.

Bhim Deo's time, who is said to have created sixteen Sawants or great Lords, but the tenure of the majority no doubt reaches back to a very remote antiquity. To describe a little more particularly their duties and offices, I may observe, that they were posted all round and along the frontiers of the Raj, with the view to defend it from the irruptions of neighbouring powers, or the incursions and devastations of the savage inhabitants of the wild regions in the interior, such as the Kands and Coles, who to this day give serious annoyance in many parts of the hill estates, and if the belief of their origin and ancient situation be well founded, were doubtless in former ages far more numerous and formidable than at present. In this point of view their situations and duties resembled much that of the Lords of the Marches in Europe. Nor is the above the only striking feature of analogy between the feudal lords of India and the western hemisphere. The estates or jurisdictions of that class in Orissa were always called by the Hindus, Gerhs, and by the Mussulmans, killahs or *Castles*. A certain part of the lands under the head Officer were parcelled out amongst several military retainers and dependents called Naiks, Dalais, Dalbehras and sometimes Khandaits, who held of their superior on much the same principle, as he did of the supreme Raja, though generally speaking by a more limited and imperfect tenure. Under these again, a portion of the lands of each subordinate Gerh, were assigned as service land to the feudal Militia of the country, called Paiks, who following equally the occupations of soldier and cultivator, were obliged at any moment when called on by their leader, to take up arms, and accompany him to the field. In time of war the Khandaits or nobility of Orissa at the head of their respective contingents of this landed militia, ranged themselves under the standard of their sovereign, and formed the main part of his Military array. Thus we frequently read of the Gajapati assembling his chiefs to attend on a warlike expedition, and we find that the Sunnuds, granted by the Mogul government (in cases where they exercised the right of investiture), always contained a condition that the Khandait should be ready to attend with his *contingent*, when summoned by the Military Officer of his division. The Paiks are of course the local Infantry constantly referred to in the Ayin Acberi. The author

observes speaking of the imperial army; "The Zemindari troops alone are in number upwards of four million and four hundred thousand, as will hereafter be particularized"—a fact which shews the extensive prevalence of the Military tenure throughout the country even as late as the 16th century. The proportion of landed militia set down for Orissa Proper in the same work, is about one hundred thousand. Besides the general obligation of Military service, the Indian feudatories were bound to do homage, and to perform certain nominal duties or offices resulting from their tenures, when in actual attendance on their liege lords, called by the expressive word *Sewa, Seva*, or service (in Persian Khidmat), a consideration of which, to compare small things with great, reminds one strongly of some of the ancient forms of the Germanic constitution. Thus it was the business of one to bear the sword of state; another held the shield; a third carried the umbrella or royal standard; a fourth presented the Raja's slippers; a fifth fanned him with the regal chouri, &c. The above services are to this day performed in the presence of the Khúrda Rajas, by several of the hill Zemindars, as often as they visit Púrí, though the distinctive character of the office appropriated to each, has become a good deal merged in the simple duty of holding the chouri and pankha, in the presence of the representative of their ancient Lords Paramount.

The same duties were performed at the Court of Vijayanagar, ruled by the Princes of the Narapati race under the title of Sovereign Lords of the Deccan, by the Chiefs and Rajas who held of them. Colonel Mackenzie's paper on the history of those kings, published in one of the volumes of the Annual Register, has the following passage: "In this King's reign several considerable Rajas used to attend him in the duties of the following offices, viz. the King of Camboja Desam presented him with the Calinji; the Panda Raja held his bag of beetle-nut; the King of Ginjee carried his chouri; the Raja of Kerala district carried his water goglet; the Raja of Anga Desam presented him beetle as his servant. The Raja of Mucha country's office was to dress him; the Raja of Gool carried the umbrella; all the other offices were executed in like manner by persons of rank. All

those on their first visit performed their respective duties to Ramaraja, when he was seated on his throne or Sinhásanam. To this day likewise, the feudatories or thakurs of the great Rajput principalities, as Jyepur, Joudpur, and Oudipur, are bound to attend the court of their prince for certain fixed periods in each year, there to do homage, and to perform such services as the terms of their several tenures prescribe.

The estate of the Chief Khetri, or Lord Paramount, comprized the fairest and most fertile portion of the monarchy of Orissa. In every part of India it would seem that, even under the Hindus, the domains reserved for the crown constituted, if not the largest, at least the most valuable and productive share of the whole territory, and it was the uniform policy of the strong government of the Mohammedans, constantly to enlarge this share by the gradual subjugation and absorption of the possessions of the lesser chiefs and princes. As it is the above-mentioned estate or concern, with the management of which the Officers of the British government are chiefly occupied, and from which nearly all its revenues are derived, it is of course of particular importance to enquire respecting the system and the rights anciently prevailing and still existing, in the tract known by the modern appellation of the Mogulbandi or Khaliseh. Whilst the Mogulbandi yields to the state a revenue of between twelve and thirteen lacs, in its real character of Proprietor, the Rajwara or division occupied by the feudal chiefs, pays a light tribute of only 1,20,000, the difference between that and the actual net produce, which is at the lowest calculation in the ratio of one to ten, being enjoyed by the several Zemindars, in virtue of *their* proprietary rights.

In the Khaliseh territory, obvious traces exist to this day of a subdivision of lands into tracts held by Military retainers, and those of the common Malguzari ryots. Tenants of the former description are called at present Paiks, and lesser Khandaits, and the estates on which they are found are entered in the revenue accounts as "*Khurdiah Gerjat*,"* but whatever

* Lit. small forts or fortified posts, with lands annexed.

may have been their number anciently, they are now too few and unimportant to claim a particular notice. The ryoti land, paying a full rent to the sovereign, demands our principal attention. According to the uniform system of India generally, it was partitioned into numerous *grams*, townships, or village societies. The larger revenue allotments or circles of villages known to the Hindus of Orissa, were denominated *Khand* and *Bisi* or *Bishe*; words meaning literally a portion or district. Each of these petty districts was under the management and controul of two descriptions of hereditary officers, vested with police and revenue functions, viz. the Khand Adipati and Bishuya or Bissoee, (words signifying chief of a division,) who was the principal man; and the Bhoï Múl of the Karan or writer cast, who had the more particular charge of keeping all the accounts and registers connected with the land. In parts of the Deccan, the same description of officers still exist, and are called the Des Mukh and Des Pandiah, terms of precisely corresponding import. They seem to have acted jointly in the discharge of some of their functions, and separately and independently in regard to others. One perhaps had the more especial duty of administering the police, the other of collecting the revenue; whilst they both watched generally over the fiscal interests of the state, and acted as umpires and moderators of Punchaits, in investigating and adjusting disputes between inhabitants of different villages, or between the people of a village and their head man. Every respectable village had its chief and accountant, called the Padhan and Bhoï—but frequently several of the smaller hamlets of Orissa were associated together under one set of officers of this name; much oftener the same individual performed both functions in a village; and sometimes none of the kind existed, in which case the charge of the village affairs attached more immediately to the division officer. Where the Padhan and Bhoï both existed, they discharged respectively much the same duty in regard to their individual village or villages, as the superior officers exercised in regard to their circle of villages. The Padhan looked after the police with the aid of the village watchman, who made his reports to a Sirdar or Sirdars called the *Or* Khan-

dait* stationed with the Bisoï; the Bhoï kept the village accounts and furnished information to the Bhoï Múl or chief accountant. All these functionaries held their situations hereditarily, and were in the habits of mortgaging or even selling the whole or shares of them, with the sanction of the ruling power, just as we see the priests and officers in the temple of Jugunnáth at this day disposing constantly of their several *shewas* or services, with the emoluments thereunto annexed. To infer from these circumstances any right of property *in the soil*, would seem equally rash and absurd. It is a nicer question whether under the old Hindu system the actual occupants of the soil, that is the ryots, were considered to possess any subordinate title of ownership in land. There are no obvious traces of such a right now remaining in Cuttack, as we read of in Canara and Malabar. I have never yet been able to discover any well authenticated instance of the *sale* or *mortgage* of land by a Malguzari ryot of the province. The thaní or fixed cultivators, however undoubtedly possessed under the old Rajas the privilege of hereditary occupancy; their fixed assessment was light and easy; and there was then no one to dispute the matter with them, excepting the despotic uncontroled sovereign of the country, who, whatever his claims in theory, of course required nothing from the land but an adequate revenue.

The changes consequent on the subjection of the province to the Mogul government come next to be considered. It is well known that after the defeat of the Afghan usurpers who had gained temporary possession of Orissa, by the armies of Acber under the command of his General Khan Jehan and others, the celebrated Dewan Túral Mall visited the province A. D. 1580 to superintend the introduction of his settlement of the crown lands, founded on a measurement and valuation called the Taksím Jamma and Tankha Raqmi. The arrangements for the annexation of the Suba of Orissa to the empire, did not, however, receive their final completion until the arrival of Raja Man Sinh the Imperial Lieutenant, who assumed charge of the government in 999 Amli.

* That is, the Khandait of the *cultivating* as contradistinguished from the Military caste.

Under his administration the heads of the existing branches of the Royal family were acknowledged as Rajas; they were invested with the rank and titles conferred by the Mogul Court on officers of distinction; and extensive portions of country were assigned to them as hereditary fiefs in Zemindari tenure. No regular tribute appears to have been required from them on account of their own lands, but the right of investiture was reserved to the ruling power, with the privilege of levying such contributions on the accession of a new Raja, as it might be thought expedient, according to the circumstances of the times, to demand. The reigning prince was styled the Raja of Khúrda with the rank of a Commander of 3,500 "*Mansabi Seh Hazár Panjsad*," and his estate was composed of the jurisdiction called Killah Khúrda, with the Mehals Rahang, Limbai Pursottem Chetter, &c. alienated from the Khaliseh. To the two sons of Telinga Mukund Deo (the last independent monarch), were assigned respectively with the title of Raja and rank of five hundred, Sarangher, Pattia, Sailo, Saibír, &c. and Ál with Derabissi, and Uthár. A certain number likewise of the great chiefs of Orissa (Zemindars and Sirdars, as they are called in the revenue accounts,) were placed under the orders and control of each of the above Rajas, who collected the tribute before due from them, or then for the first time imposed. *Zemindar*,* I may here observe, is the obvious translation of the word Bhúnia, Bhyan, or Bhupati, the common title of the ancient feudatories of this province, whose offices now received a Persian name, as well as their jurisdictions, the Hindi word Gerh, being exchanged for *Killah*. The more distant Zemindars were separated from the control of the superior Raja, and placed under seven principal Zemindars or Sáwants (not distinguished however by the title of Raja,) viz. the Zemindars of Keonjhar, Moherbenj, Bishenpur, Futthabad, Naraingerh, Karrangher, and

* Even the powerful Rajas of Joudpur, Bhartpur, &c. were called Zemindars by the Mogul government down to the latest period, and we know from history the nature of their tenures. They were bound to attend in succession on the person of the Emperor at the head of a fixed quota of Troops. Their own countries were and are still subdivided into the lands of the Military retainers or Thakurs, and the revenue lands, on the same principle that prevailed under the Hindu government in the empire at large.

Nag or Bagbhúm. The jurisdiction thus left to the Raja of Khúrda, extended from the Mahanadi to the borders of Kimedy in Ganjam, comprizing 129 Killahs, Gerhs, or hill estates, exclusive of those situated within his own Zemindari. The above number tallies exactly with that given in the Ayin Acberi, the author of which observes, "In Cuttack are one hundred and twenty-nine brick forts (killahs,) subject to the command of Gajapati." The other two Rajas had under them altogether fifty-two Zemindaris and seventy-nine killah divisions; and the seven Zemindars mentioned fifty-six ditto, containing one hundred and one killahs—all exclusive of their own estates, and the dependent killahs situated within them. The detail of the arrangements adopted by Raja Man Sinh for the disposal and management of the above important class of estates, cannot be very interesting to the general reader, but I shall nevertheless introduce an extract from some old revenue accounts in my possession, which describe those arrangements, as the documents in question are certainly highly curious, and they are not devoid of utility to those who have any concern in the administration of Cuttack, and the two adjoining districts of Ganjam and Midnapore. I have added to the translation from the Persian statement, a column shewing the present state and circumstances of the killahs which remain under Cuttack.

EXTRACT.

Statement of Killajat, in the jungles and hills under Zemindars, subject to tribute (Peshkash) according to the allotment of Raja Man Sinh in 999 Amli.

Under the Raja of Khúrda whose Manseb is that of 3500 are placed exclusive of Mehals, thirty-one Zemindars, and two hundred killahs.

The Raja's own estate of Khúrda, one Zemindari, contains seventy-one killahs, viz. Khúrda, Rathipur, Ber Gerh, Sissupal, Jhaipareh, Kuplipersad, Paterpareh, Nonepur, Jamkhely, Tapang, Chatarmia, Lal Sinh, Gangpareh, Malipareh, Dúmdúma, Palih, Ramesar, Manibandh, Mankgora, Mangoi,

Kormati, Kalamatiah, Kondlogerh, Mangalajúri, Jarípareh, Rorang, Karm, Mallipareh, Narsingpersad, Baran Gerh, Karang, Mirtúnjay Gerh, Kaimattia, Usna, Baranda, Balbhadderpersad, Nowailee, Banjgiri, Tarkai, Seraen Gerh, Matiapareh, Bangro, Bhingro, Koklo, Karki, and eight killahs, in Limbai; Andharúa, Darútang, Kolapokhar, Tirah Sowri thirteen killahs, Nakhikot, Kaipadda, Bolgerh, Gúmhapur, and Múljher.

Under the Raja's command are thirty Zemindaris of Hindu Sirdars, containing one hundred and twenty-nine killahs.

	Zemindari.	*Do. Killahs*	*REMARKS.*
Bankee, contains			Now an independent tributary Mehal.
Dumpareh,			Tributary subject to regulations.
Attari,			Under Khurda.
Kalúpareh,			Annexed to Limbai. Both of the above are still remembered as Khandaits which were wrested from the old feudal Chiefs by the Khurda Rajas.
Barrambah,			Tributary Mehals exempt from regulations.
Tigria,			
Narsinhpur,			
Anghole,			
Talchere,			
Murdeswara,			Annexed to Khurda.
At'hgerh,			Tributary.
Dankhanal,			
Sirhinda,			
Andhiyarí,			This and the two following belong now to the Jagir of Kerar Mohamed.
Bajarcote,			
Achalkote,			
Nyagurh,			Tributary.
Khandiapareh,			
Ranpur,			
Daspalla,			
Banpur, contg. Súran, Roheri, Bakahir, Banpur, Parrikhud, Chattergerh,			Now annexed to Khurda and the Jagir of Malúd and Manikpatam.
Ghoomser,			This, and the seven following Hill Estates, are now under the Ganjam District. They were separated from Orissa about 1730 A. D. They pay to the British Government of Madras a fixed revenue of nearly three Lacs of Rupees including the Estates into which they have been latterly subdivided.
Kalicote,			
Kúrlo Atgerh or Hatgerh,			
Chagatti,			
Moheri,			
Shirgerh,			
Palur,			
Tikally Raghunathpur,			

Under the Raja of Sarangerh, whose Manseb is that of five hundred (exclusive of Mehals,) are placed thirty-one Zemindaris containing fifty killahs.

The Raja's own estate with Balanta, two Zemindaris contains twelve killahs, viz. Killah Sarangerh, Bajgiri, Talgiri, Gowaligerh, Raghunathpur, Pattiah, Kalabank, Atagerh, Motri, Garukun, Balanta, and Nurkantiah.

Dependent Hindu Sirdars, holding twenty-nine Zemindaris and thirty-eight forts under the Raja's orders.

	Zemindari.	*Killahs.*	*REMARKS.*
Arang Majraí, contains	1	1	The whole of these Killahs have been assessed under the British Government at the full Jumma. They lie within and on the borders of the Mogulbandi South of the Mahanadi in all directions chiefly on the East and South and all retain the appellation of Killah in the Revenue accounts of the district. The Raja of Sarengher was deprived of all controul over the Sirdars or Khandaits long before the Mahratta accession.
Golrah,	1	1	
Ropasu,	1	1	
Pyan and Nír,	1	2	
Amnakúd,	1	2	
Telpadda,	1	2	
Alandapareh,	1	2	
Bealís Batee,	1	2	
Tabha Golra,	1	2	
Níti,	1	2	
Nyagerh,	1	2	
Ursan,	1	2	
Tarkye,	1	2	
Aikiyai,	1	8	
Bhowara,	1	2	
Amlihatta,	1	1	
Bedpur,	1		
Durgeswar,	1	1	
Amripershad,	1	1	
Intalogerh,	1	1	
Chandpur,	1	1	
Garggesswur, &c.	1	4	In Pergunnah Sailo.
Bir Rampur,	1		In Choordes.
Baliampur,	1		
Sitha	1		
Jonye.	1		
Kishenpersad,	1	1	
Turang, &c.	1	3	In Pergunnah Saibeer.
Gurupareh,	1	1	In Pergunnah Gunnito.

Under the Raja of Ál with the rank of five hundred are placed twenty-four Zemindaris, containing forty-two killahs.

The Raja's own estate of killah Ál, one Zemindari and one killah.

Dependent Hindu Sirdars, twenty-three Zemindaris, containing forty-one killahs.

	Zemindari.	*Killahs.*	*REMARKS.*
Kanka,	1	2	The first nine of these are now Tributary Estates occupying the Eastern Division of the Rajwara. The tenth lies on the western side under the hill and is held at a Tribute but subject to the regulations of the British Government like the preceding. Few of the others have retained even the appellation of killah to the present day and the control of the Raja of Ál over them has long ceased.
Rynta,	1	8	
Kojang,		2	
Kokilo Dip,		2	
Harrispur,		2	
Marrichpur,		2	
Bishenpur,		2	
Jamkurrera,		2	
Chedra,		1	
Darpan,		2	
Dholtang,		1	
Daljora,		2	
Chatter,		2	
Amjher,		1	
Balbupur,		2	
Alemgir,		1	
Nattiggree,		1	In Pergunnah Bargoan.
Kaluparch,		1	
Bhúma Badrak,			
Noundh,			
Barmatree,			
Aúpdda,			
Kajang,			

Under the Zemindar of Keonjhar are fifteen Zemindaris and fifty-five killahs.

His own Estate one Zemindari, containing eleven killahs, viz. Anandpur, Sikrí, &c. four killahs, Mítagher, and others name unknown.

Dependent Chiefs fourteen Zemindaris, having twenty-four killahs.

	Zemindari.	*Killahs.*	*REMARKS.*
Denkhanal,		2	The first of these is now one of the principal of the Independent Tributary Mehals. The 2nd Tributary but subject to the Regulations. Few of the others retain the name of Killah and none the privilege of paying at a fixed assessment. The Zemindar's authority is now confined to Keonjher.
Súganda,		4	
Kantajher,			
Dholgerh,		2	
Ragree,		2	
Pachmíkot,		2	
Amulek,		2	
Baghpareh,			
Bairampur,			
Chochanda,			
Kaptigerh,			
Ambohatta, Pynsan & Oral,			

Under the Zemindar of Moherbenj twelve Zemindaris containing forty-two killahs.

His own Estate, one Zemindari containing eighteen killahs, viz. Bhunj Bhúm, Mantri, Hariharpur, Dewalia, Púrnia, Karkachna, Bamanhattí, Sirhonda, and small insignificant forts, ten.

Dependent Chiefs, eleven Zemindaris having twenty-four killahs, viz.

	Zemindari.	*Killahs.*	*REMARKS.*
Nilgiri,	1	10	One of the Cuttack Tributary Mehals.
Sinhbhúm,	1	1	Now an Independent Estate.
Barrabhúm,	1	1	
Patharhai,		1	
Narsinhpur,	1	4	One of the Jungle Estates in the Midnapore district.
Deba,			
Tyarchand,			
Jamcunda,			In Cuttack at the mouth of the Subanrekha.
Chargerh,			Ditto.
Talmunda,			One of the Cuttack killahs.
Jamrapal,			Ditto.

Under the Zemindar of Bishenpur, are twelve Zemindaris and twenty-nine killahs.

His own Estate one Zemindari comprising fifteen killahs.

Dependent Chiefs, eleven Zemindars, having fourteen killahs.

	Zemindari.	*Killahs.*	*REMARKS.*
Mysadal,		1	Most of these are included in the Zillah of Midnapore. Manbhúm belongs with Bishenpur itself, to the Jungle Mehal Zillah
Kúmgerh or Gúmgerh,		1	
Tumlook,		1	
Hattragerh,		1	
Kolegerh,		1	
Manbhúm,		1	
Sinhbhúm,		2	
Bamanbhúm,		2	
Nalbhúm or Balbún.		1	Mr. Grant mentions that Bograi with Raipore in Orissa formed anciently part of the Zemindari Raj of Bishenpur. They were annexed to the Burdwan Chakleh in 1135 A.
Bagbhúm or Nagbhúm,		1	
Raipur,		1	

Under the Zemindar of Futtihabad seven Zemindars containing seventeen killahs.

His own Zemindari, Futtihabad, &c. containing two killahs.

Dependent Zemindaris six, containing fifteen killahs.

	Zemindari.	*Killahs.*	*REMARKS.*
Bahuria, - - -	1	1	Belong chiefly to Midnapore.
Ghatsila, - - -	1	2	Ghatsila is now, I believe the residence of the Narsinh Gerh Zemindar.
Mynachúra, - - -	1	8	Mynachúra and Narajoul lie on the Eastern side of the Midnapore district, the irregular straggling Jurisdiction both of the Cuttack and Midnapore Chiefs arose of course unavoidably from the scattered position of the Gerhs placed under them.
Narajoul or Tarajol, - -	1	1	
Kolpada, - - -	1	1	
Nyagaon khalar, - -	1	2	

Under the Zemindar of Naraingerh, six Zemindaris, containing 17 killahs.

His own Zemindari contains four killahs.

Dependent Zemindaris five, containing thirteen forts.

	Zemindari	*Killahs.*	*REMARKS.*
Dharinda, &c. - - -	1	4	
Behadurpur, - - -	1	2	
Uttarbehar, - - -	1	2	
Pertab Bhan, - - -	1	4	
Harisanker, - - -	1	1	

Under charge (of Zimmeh) the Zemindar of Karan Gerh six Zemindaris, having eight killahs.

His own one Zemindari, containing two killahs.

Dependent (Tabidaran) five, containing six killahs.

	Zemindari.	*Killahs.*	*REMARKS.*
Chatna, - - -	1	1	
Dhowarpareh, - - -	1	1	
Gerh Dowah - - -	1	1	
Kyarchand, - - -	1		
Chourassi, &c. - - -	1	2	

Under the Zemindar of Nag or Bagbhúm.

His own Zemindari one, containing two killahs.

	Zemindari.	Killahs	REMARKS.
Rajgerh - - - -	1	1	
Shujaabad, - - - -	1	1	
Ghumeia, - - - -	1	2	
Dhowalgerh, - - - -	1	1	

Badshahi Thanehs under Cuttack, - - - - - - - - - - 21

——————— under Bengal, - - - - - - - - - - 4

Established in old times by Raja Man Sinh 999 Amlee. Cuttack, Pipley Nour, Talmal, Pacherah, Jajipur, Badrak, Soro, Ramna, Bastah, Jellasore, Futtihabad, Narain Gerh, and Midnapore; the four last under Bengal.

Under Kam Garkhan: Malúd, Telingapenth, Santrapur, Chattiah, Sarangerh, and Mahulpur. Under Hasim Beg Khan: Naltigri, Alemghir Shirgerh.

Under Shujaa-ud-din, Fatteh Gerh, Shujaa Gerh, Paikani, Ahmedpur, Andiyari, Tiran, Gope, Kujang, and Rynto, both of which latter ones were broken up by the Zemindars. Mohammed Taki Khan after the seizure of Raja Ramchander Deo planted twenty-two thanehs for the protection and subjugation of Rajwara from Bulwanta to Banpur, but they were all removed excepting Balanta when Bir Kishore Deo succeeded to the Raj by order of the King.

Whilst the ministers of Akber thus wisely left the turbulent feudal chiefs or Khetri Zemindars to the management of those who from their local rank and hereditary influence were best qualified to control them, they considered it expedient to adopt also with very little variation the system which they found existing for the administration of the affairs of the *Kot*, or as they called them the *Khaliseh* lands, that is the country annexed to the Imperial Dewanni. The only marked change which they introduced, indeed,

was that of translating all the uncouth and harsh sounding Uria designations of things and offices, into more familiar Persian terms of corresponding import.

The *Khands* and *Bissees* now became *Pergunnahs;* the Police and Revenue Officers, Chowdris* and Vilaity (Mofussil or Provincial) Canungos, or generally Talúkdars, the heads of villages Mokaddams; and the villages themselves Mouzas. The larger territorial division of Sircar was perhaps arbitrary, suggested by considerations of financial convenience, or may have been copied from the Uria *Dandpat.* The term Mehal, or plural Mehalat, by which the Revenue lands were designated in contradistinction to Killajat or the Military ditto, comprized in Akber's time, each, several Pergunnahs, and answered nearly to the modern Chakleh, though it is now applied to every petty estate or interest separately engaged for with the Collector.

The Revenue Officers of the khaliseh lands, called Chowdris and Vilaity Canungos, or generally Talúkdars, certainly acquired no new rights under the Mogul Government. We find them on all occasions acting with the Mokaddams as the fixed hereditary local Officers of the state, discharging some of their functions in relation to their Pergunnahs jointly, others separately and independently,—exercising in short the same privileges, and enjoying the same percentage and profits, under the new as under the old system of things. Amongst the chief of their duties were the collection of the Government Revenue assessed on their several divisions, the Control of Police, the adjustment of disputes relating to the Pergunnah generally, and the enforcement of all the government orders and instructions relative to the assignment and appropriation of lands. Their acknowledged profits were five per cent. on the collections, certain

* The author of the Ayin Acberi says, speaking of the Súbeh of Bera,—"In this country they call the *Chowdri*, Desmookhee: the *Canungoe*, Despundiah: the *Mokaddam*, *Putayl* and the *Putwaree*, *Kool Kurnee.*"

perquisites on fishery, orchards, produce of the jungles, &c. (the Phalkar, Jalkar and Bankar;) taxes on Trade (Muteharfa;) the privilege of granting leases to new settlers in villages where there were no Mokaddams; and the less distinctly avowed, though not less profitable, perquisite of granting free of rent and selling, small portions of the lands called "Banjar Kharej Jamma," or waste unoccupied and unassessed land, which had either never been subject to rent, or had been deserted for years. The Mokaddams under them exercised privileges of a nearly corresponding nature and degree. They were often separated with their villages entirely from the control of the Talúkdars, when their oppression had become intolerable, or they could purchase the favour of the ruling power. We find these persons constantly addressed jointly with the ryots and cultivators, in all the perwannehs and firmans both of the local and Supreme Governments, according to the well-known form, "Let the Chowdris and Canungos, the Mokaddams, the ryots and cultivators of Pergunnah, so and so, sircar, so and so, know." If other evidence were wanting, the names and designations of their offices would clearly explain the light in which they were viewed by the Moguls. Chowdri or Mokaddam signify simply chief or head —Vilaity Canungo, the local or provincial Officer of account. The Chowdri Talúkdar has been always treated under the British Government as a proprietor of land, and the ambiguity of the designation of *Chief*, prevents the error of such a view of his condition being apparent at first sight. The Canungo Talúkdar has never been taken notice of in discussions regarding the land tenures of India. His denomination is so clearly indicative of a merely official tenure and occupation, that the most determined advocate of Zemindari rights would hardly perhaps maintain *his* claim to be called a Proprietor of the soil, though undoubtedly the title of both descriptions of Talúkdars stands on precisely the same footing. To control and superintend these local Officers of the old regime, and to maintain the principles of the new settlement inviolate, the offices of Sadder Canungo and Sadder Chowdri were instituted by Akber, or rather his Dewan Tooral Mall. The Sadder Chowdris, Canungos, and their establishments, should be carefully

distinguished from the Vilaity or local and country Chowdris and Canungos, the Officers of the former Hindu Government. Whilst the latter were all Úrias, the newly created Offices were invariably filled by natives of Bengal. This circumstance of country and descent, has latterly been almost the only distinction between the two, as the four Sadder Canungos of Cuttack and many of their Gomashtehs contrived in process of time to obtain the management of a great number of Talúks, and became Talúkdars, when their utility as checks and controllers must of course in a great measure have ceased. The situation of Sadder Chowdri has long ago altogether disappeared.

Down to the conquest of the Province by the British arms, the functions and situation of the Chowdri and Canungo Talúkdars and the Mokaddams, remained precisely as I have above generally explained them. All Pergunnahs in the Marhatta accounts (with very few exceptions) are found entered as divided into the Talúks of Chowdris and Canungos named after the holder, Talúka Chowdri, Talúka Sudder Canungo, Talúka Canungo Vilaity, &c. and the separated or Mazkúrí villages of such Mokaddams as had been entirely emancipated from their control, with certain alienated lands known by names and revenue terms which it is unnecessary here to mention. But on the introduction of the British Government and regulations, all parties whose names appeared in the public accounts of the preceding administration as answerable for or intrusted with the collection of the public dues, were forthwith acknowledged not only as *Zemindars*, but as proprietors of the land comprized in their Zemindaris. Whatever may be thought of the policy of this admission and the advantages that have resulted from it, that it was founded on an erroneous view of the state of things under the native Government, seems to me to be beyond all question. How did this error, which seems to have been as generally prevalent every where else as in Cuttack, originate? I think its origin and prevalence may be ascribed chiefly to three causes; 1st. the want of a proper distinction being made between the rights and circumstances of the real ancient Zemindars

of the country, and those officers called by the Moguls Talúkdars or by whatever other name, who exercised hereditarily the management and collection of the domains of the state; 2nd. the confused and inaccurate application of the term Zemindar by the natives of the country themselves, long before the accession of the British Government, which was probably a principal cause of the want of discrimination above noticed; 3rd. the failure to distinguish between the inheritance and sale of an office (a practice probably peculiar to the Hindus) and the inheritance and sale of the land with which that office was connected and concerned.

On the real and essential difference existing between the two classes in Orissa, *properly* called Zemindar and Talúkdar, I have already said enough. The former were the feudal Chiefs or Barons of the land, holding their estates by a title of property, and accountable to their sovereign only for the performance of such services, military or otherwise, as the condition of their tenure imposed. The latter were the hereditary Officers of Revenue and Police, on the widely extended domains of the superior Raja himself.

With regard to the second source of error which is indeed intimately connected with the first, I would observe that we may trace four different senses in which the term Zemindar has been at different and successive periods used and understood in this country. In the days of Akber and his successors down to some period of Aurangzeb's reign, it was confined strictly to the old feudal Lords and Chiefs such as I have before described, who were the ancient original Bhúyans, Bhúpatis, or Zemindars. 2nd. At different periods of the Mogul and Mahratta government, *Zemindaris* were occasionally created in imitation of the Hindu practice, either by separating off a number of *villages* from adjoining Pergunnahs, or by allotting one or more *Pergunnahs* of the khaliseh land, as fixed assignments, to some distinguished Chief or able Revenue Officer, Musselman or Hindu, to answer a particular purpose. These creations were apparently common in Bengal, and

no doubt have contributed greatly to puzzle and entangle the question of Zemindari rights as relating to that province.* There are about five or six instances of the kind in Cuttack subsequent to Raja Man Sinh's time, of which the Zemindari composed of Pergunnah Kúrdés, Antrudh, and Kaljúrí, created as late as 1780—90, A. D. is the most remarkable case. The new tenure thus created would be naturally of rather a mixed and ambiguous nature. It was obviously by no means the policy or general practice of the Mogul Government to raise up an *hereditary* nobility, though they might occasionally adopt proceedings leading to that result, to answer some special end. If we look to the proper original import of the word *Zemindar*, the tenure in question would have some claims to be considered as involving a right of property in the soil: but if we try the nature of the grant by the contents of the sunnud or deed itself which conferred it, we must unhesitatingly class the Zemindari so created, as nothing higher than a Talúkdari, or a mere official trust, of the description called Ihtimam. Instead of military service which the policy of the Musselman government did not require, the *khidmat* or service enjoined in the Zemindari sunnuds to which I refer, is that of keeping up a good police and paying a certain fixed revenue. The remuneration to be enjoyed in return is always distinctly indicated, viz. the Nancar, Rassúm and Lowazimeh, or percentage and perquisites. The old Talúkdars, where *Pergunnahs* were thus granted, continued sometimes to exist in a dependent capacity; sometimes were altogether ousted or bought out. 3rd. In latter times as the vigour and regularity of the old system became relaxed, the Chowdri and Canungo Talúkdars came to be known as the *Zemindars* of their Pergunnahs generally. Their Talúks were not, to be sure, entered in the public accounts as Zemindaris, nor would any single Talúkdar call himself a Zemindar, but they assumed conjointly the distinction of Pergunnah Zemindars and were so termed often by the ruling power. It is curious and not unimportant to remark that whilst the Talúkdars became thus exalted to

* They may be in general distinguished by their Musselman appellations as Rajshahi, Mahmúd Shahi, Fattihabad, Fattehpur, &c.

the rank of Zemindar, the prope
styled themselves Rajas. Before
ever since that period, every hill
pleased invariably to adopt the sty
Sinh's settlement we find three Ze
the three Princes of the Royal fa
classed in the rank of Khandaits,
last mode of applying the title of
ment, when every class and dese
the Collector for payment of rever
and benefit resulting from that a
than seven different grades of pers
with land, who appear in the Coll
lute proprietors of the soil: 1st. T
killah estates. 2nd. Zemindars
one or more Pergunnahs, as Cúrde
dri and Canungo Talúkdars. 4th.
5th. Village accountants, called
managed their villages and paid t
The head-men (Pursettís) of patr
with little or no arable land attac
petty alienated portions of land
lands (Mouajib), &c. &c.

dars mounted a step higher and
British accession, and certainly
gle Zemindar of Orissa has been
itle of Raja. At the great Man
only acknowledged as such, viz.
All the other feudal Chiefs were
and Zemindars. The fourth and
ar is as under the British govern-
of persons engaging in chief with
ins, on all occasions, the dignity
n. We may distinguish no less
ing offices and tenures connected
ccounts as Zemindars, and abso-
nt Zemindars (now Rajas) of the
l and Marhatta creation, holding
, Shahabad, &c. 3rd. The Chow-
pendent (Mazkúrí) Mokaddams.
kars, and Kárjís who sometimes
to the Marhatta government. 6th.
villages containing merely houses
n. The holders and proprietors of
heridah, resumed jagirs, service

It is of some importance to my
mony, either direct or incidental,
the view which I have taken of th
Mogul Zemindars, and the grea
Canungos, or more generally T
in latter times, by the inaccurate
mer term.

nt to consider how far the testi-
st writers of the country, supports
l essential difference between the
ue Officers called Chowdris and
; and of the confusion created
scriminate application of the for-

On the only occasions when the s the Ayin Acberi mentions Ze-
mindars, the word is used entirely sense I contend for, that is,
as designating the class of Military and feudatories, bound by their
tenure to furnish troops, &c. for the f the state. He mentions se-
veral Rajput Zemindars (sometime ssly under that denomination,
sometimes as Bhúmis) commanding Troops in Berar, in the account
of which Subeh also, he observes, t howdri is here called Desmukh,
Canungo, Despandia, &c. but doe plain the nature of the duties of
those officers. In treating of the S Bengal likewise, he states, after
recounting the amount of the reven d the Zemindars (who are most-
ly Koits)* furnish also 23,330 ca 01,158 infantry, 170 elephants,
4260 cannon, and 4400 boats." In ge which occurs in part 3rd, des-
cribing the duties of the Foujdar, l *Zemindar* has been erroneously
used by the translator Mr. Gladwin original runs thus, " When a Bu-
zerger, (husbandman or ryot,) or a uzár of the Khaliseh, or a Jagir-
dar, may prove refractory, he shal our first to bring him back to his
duty by fair words ;" which the tr renders, " Whenever a *Zemindar*
or a Collector of the Royal or Jagi

If the Royal domains, or Khalis were really held, under the Mo-
gul government, by a number of la *rietors*, whether called Zemindar,
or by whatever other name, it se cely conceivable, that all mention
of, and allusion to, such a class, s ve been omitted in the chapter of
the Ayin Acoeri, (viz. part 3,) whi expressly of the famous ten year's
settlement of the imperial lands, e arrangements and system of ma-
nagement therewith connected. can peruse that chapter without

*The remark that the Bengal Zemindars a oits or Cayasthas, who are of the Sankar va-
ran, or mixed impure breed, inferior even to y seem partly at variance with what I have ad-
vanced, but it should be recollected, that, a eady stated, the genuine Cshatriyas are consi-
dered to be extinct, in many parts of the co that these who now represent and stand in the
place of the regal and military class, are ofter erior extraction. It will be seen, on reference
to the lists of Kings in the work now referred ut of five dynasties of sovereign Princes who
ruled over Gaura Desa or Bengal, prior to th edan conquest, the first only were Khetris ; the
four last Koits.

being struck by the fact, that the entire business of settlement and collection, is described as lying between the husbandman and the officers of the government, called the Amil, Tepakchi, and Treasurer, conducted through the intervention of certain local functionaries, who are styled the Shikdar, Karkún, Mokaddam, and Patwári. It would be superfluous to quote particular passages, in illustration of what is so abundantly clear, from the whole tenor of the portion of the work alluded to. It cannot surely be imagined, that, if a class of so much importance as Zemindars and Proprietors had then existed in the Khaliseh land, no reference should ever once be made to their existence and interests, in speaking of the payments of the Ryots to the Officers of Government; the settlements to be made with them; the measurements of the land; the accounts of the same to be kept, and the parties by whom those accounts were to be signed and countersigned. By the Shikdar* and Karkun, in this place, are meant, I apprehend, the Chowdri and Canungo Talúkdars, like those of Orissa, or persons performing similar functions. Shikdar implies very nearly the same as Talúkdar, the one designation signifying literally, holder or manager of a division; the other, holder of an allotment or dependency. The Chowdri, is, twice only, that I can discover, mentioned by that appellation express, throughout the Ayin Acberi; first, in the account of the Súbeh of Berar, and second, in the part about *Syerghal*, which is defined to mean either money, pensions, or land bestowed as *milk* and *madadmash*. The passage is this, "Various illicit practices having been discovered, the Syerghal of the Afghans and *Chowdris of the Khaliseh*, were annexed to the Exchequer."

The same indirect and incidental evidence may be drawn from Ferishteh, whose history extends down to the death of Acber in A. D. 1605. In the cases where he mentions Zemindars, it is almost invariably as, *Zemindaran o Rayyan* Deccan, Zemindars and Princes of the Deccan; Zemindaran

* In Bengal, Shikdar has become an hereditary title or appellation like Chowdri, Bakshee, Mujmuadar, &c.

Kohestan, of the hills, &c. and they are represented as powerful chiefs possessing forts, armies, and political influence, such as to this day are the attributes of Khetri and Rajput Chiefs. It is curious enough, that, in nearly every instance where his translator Dow has introduced the word *Zemindar*, and more especially in those few interesting passages of Ferishteh, which touch upon the internal arrangements and institutions of the empire, the term has been gratuitously foisted in, and is not to be found in the original. As a guide to future enquirers, I shall point out some of these errors which have attracted my notice. Dow states of Sultan Balin, "Wherever the King marched, there was an order for the Súbehs, *Zemindars*, Foujdars, &c. to meet him." This is, merely the translator's explanation of the sense of the passage. The original is, "Sultan Balin made it a rule, that, whenever he returned from his army, the head-officers and respectable men, (Sudúr-o-Akábir,) came to meet him and offer presents." When the same Prince goes to Sunargaon, in pursuit of the rebel Togral, Dow makes the *Zemindar* of that place join him with his troops; the original says only, "Dhoj Rai the *Zabit* or local governor." In the accounts of the reigns of Feroze 2nd and Alla-ud-deen, the word *Amra*, used by Ferishteh, is twice erroneously translated *Zemindar*. In the description of the latter reign, a still more important inaccuracy occurs, in the account of the King's measures, for improving both the condition of his ryots, and the revenues of the Royal Exchequer. *Zemindars* and *farmers* are not once mentioned by Ferishteh, but it is observed, that, as the *Chowdris* and *Mokaddams* were very oppressive in their behaviour towards the ryots (zeberdest), they were set aside, and their dues (*wajeh*) resumed, so that they who had before worn fine clothes, rode on horses and affected all the state of Amras, were now reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty. In the history of Mohammed Third's reign, the term Zemindar is again gratuitously introduced by Dow, as follows, "Nizam Bam, a *Zemindar*, possessed of some lands in Oude, collected a mob of the discontented farmers and rebelled." The original text, which is obscure in my copy, calls him an *Amir* of some kind, but never once makes use of the word Zemindar. Again, in pages 51 and

52, (vol. ii.) during Feroze Third's reign, Zemindars of Gorukpore and Kutter are mentioned by Dow, where Ferishteh distinctly calls them *Mokaddams*. *Zemindars* as well as Mokaddams of Atava, are, it is true, in one part spoken of by the Persian historian, but he elsewhere also alludes to *Rais* and *Rajas* of the same district. On the deposition of Abu Bekker, the translator observes, that the Zemindars, in various parts of the empire, fell upon his followers and massacred them. The original says, "*the ryots and others* murdered them." Whilst the designation so often repeated, has been thus constantly introduced into Dow's translation, in a manner quite unwarranted either by the sense or language of the text, it is strangely omitted, sometimes, in parts where it does occur in the original. Thus, Ferishteh, speaking of the warlike operations of the Emperor Mohammed Third, and the vigour of his government during the early part of his reign, says, "He conquered the entire Carnatic, from sea to sea, taking possession of part of the country and obliging the Rajas of the other portion to pay tribute, and, from dread of his prowess, the *Rais* and *Zemindars* throughout the empire became submissive and obedient, and waited on the court to discharge their several duties and offices." Dow renders the passage simply as follows, "He soon after reduced the Carnatic, to the extremities of the Deccan, and from sea to sea, obliging all the *Rajas* to pay him tribute, by which means he again filled the treasury with money." The last of Col. Dow's mistakes, which I shall notice, is one that has led the ingenious author of the essay on Asiatic Monarchies, to imagine a support to one (though not a material) part of his argument, which does not in reality exist. The translator says of the famous Ferid, alias Sher Shah, "When he arrived at his Jagir (in the Súbeh of Jonpur,) he actually put his resolution in practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and reducing to order such of the *Zemindars* as opposed his authority;" now the original states simply, "The *Mokaddams* of several villages being turbulent and refractory, he undertook to reduce them to order." The word *Zemindar* never once occurs any where in or near the passage.

The only inference which I would draw from the above, is, that, in those

times of the Mogul government, when the financial system of the empire existed in full vigour, the misapplication of the term Zemindar to the Chowdris and Canungos of the Khalisch lands, or to any inferior class, had not become general in Hindustan. That the designations, and, perhaps too, the offices and rights of the two classes, were in latter times much confounded together, is abundantly clear. It cannot, of course, be expected, when we consider the vague, mutilated, and imperfect state of all Indian histories and revenue accounts, that the origin and progress of this confusion should admit of being explained with such precision as to remove all doubt, or difference of opinion. The first symptoms of it are perhaps to be observed during Aurangzeb's reign.* After his death, and especially from the time of Mohammed Shah, and the early period of the eighteenth century, we meet with frequent instances, in Firmans and Perwannehs, of the word Zemindar being either added after Chowdri and Canungo, or substituted in lieu of those terms. In proof of this statement, I need only refer generally, to the numerous documents of the kind which are yet forthcoming, and may be consulted by those who feel interested in the discussion. It will be observed, that they always purport to address, and convey orders to, the whole body of persons connected, in any way, with the land in a Pergunnah or Chakleh, belonging to the *Khalisch Sherifeh*—the Amils, Mutasaddis, Chowdris, Canungos, Mokaddams, ryots, and cultivators. It is superfluous to add, after what has been above stated, that the proper

* The famous grant of the Zemindari, &c. of the 24 Pergunnahs to the Company by Jaffer Ali Khan in 1764 A. D. furnishes an apt and curious illustration of the extraordinary confusion which prevailed latterly, in regard to the designation of the head classes of middle-men connected with the land. I shall therefore give a translation of it from the original, on the records of the Persian Office, "Let the Zemindars, Chowdris, Canungos, Talukdars, Mokaddams, Ryots and Inhabitants of the Chakleh of Hoogley, &c. in Bengal, know, that since the office (or service) of the *Zemindari*, and *Chowdrahi* and *Talukdari*, as below, has been assigned to the English Company, they must be allowed to enter upon the full exercise and enjoyment of all the duties and privileges of the same, and the Ryots within the limits of their Zemindari must experience no annoyance. Let the aforesaid Company constantly exert themselves to increase the cultivation, and let them pay regularly the Revenue of the estate into the Exchequer, &c. &c. Considering the above Company as *Zemindar* and *Chowdri*, and *Talukdar*, you will allow them to appropriate all the perquisites and advantages thereunto annexed, and feel assured that all their complaints and representations will be attended to." At the foot of the grant, the 24 Pergunnahs are specified by name. In this sannad, it may be remarked, there is little enough appearance of a grant of land and proprietary rights.

Zemindars or feudal Chiefs being distinc mstanced, and subject to the control of a different department ate, viz. the Sultannat, or Nizámat, could never of course be in these official addresses, from the Khaliseh or Dewanni department husbandmen and officers of all classes on the lands composing the i lomains. I must not omit to notice the famous Firman of the Emper ngzeb Alemgir, addressed to Rashik Das, which has been translate inted with former discussions regarding the Zemindari tenure. I e "Amils, Chowdris, Canungos, Mokaddams, and Patwáris," are ly mentioned in every part and, in *one* instance, the expression is va riting "Amins, Amils, *Zemindars* and others." If the date and tra of the document are strictly correct, it may be considered to evin lier application of the term Zemindar, to the officers of the Khalis than I should be on other grounds disposed to admit.

The second cause of error, respecti ndari and Talúkdari rights, which has occurred to me, is the failur riminate between the sale of lands and of the offices connected wit In Cuttack, the offices of Talúkdar and Mokaddam, were, in c ty with the universal Hindu practice, strictly hereditary; the rent c ie of the lands payable to the state had been fixed and settled with to the capability of the soil, and the established rules for the divisi e crop; and certain perquisites and emoluments were allotted urties concerned in the business of collection and management, v ogether with illicit gains) rendered those situations, though less va han at present, still objects of solicitude and ambition to the class lone were likely to hold them, under the native administration. S ng the case, it was a frequent practice of the Mogul government, ge the Talúkdars or Mazkúri Mokaddams, when they had embezz evenues, or otherwise fallen into arrears, to dispose of a portion of w held, when the price obtained was invariably paid into the local in discharge of balances. The custom may be considered to indica ognition of property, on the part

of those classes of fun… s in their *offices*, (though the sales in ques-
tion, termed Bye Sulta… neral bore little the character of voluntary
and unconstrained trans… t certainly cannot be held to establish any
title of property in the so… In most cases, the thing sold is carefully
defined to be the whole … are of the Talúkdari and Chowdrahi, of
the Talúkdari and Wilai… ngoship, or of the Mokaddami of a Talúk
or village. Occasionally … s some ambiguity, where a single village
only is disposed of, but I … uaded that no person could rise from the
perusal of a number of s… ds of sale of the old times, without being
satisfied, that they transfe… more than a hereditary official tenure in
a village or villages, or p… a Talúk, the profits attaching to which
are defined in the margin … rement, as well as the fixed revenue as-
sessed, called the Tankhah … nd Jamma Kemal. I observe, that, in
the very first of the cases b… rward in the appendix to Sir J. Shore's
Minute, on the permanent … nt, as an instance of the sale of *lands* in
Bengal, the thing disposed … inctly stated to be, two-sixteenths of the
*Chowdrahi** of Kismat Pergu… ttehjanjpur, sold by Kamal Chowdri to
Hari Sircar.

In like manner, I apprel… t the sense of the words *Malik* and
Milkiat, which occur genera… he Cuttack deeds of sale, as in those
of a similar nature in Benga… lsewhere, must, in any consistent and
intelligible view of the case, … to apply only to the office and per-
quisites of the seller, implyi… he enjoyed them hereditarily, by a
tenure independent of the wi… local superior, in contradistinction
to an office held by a mere Go… , or ephemeral agent at the pleasure
of another. Indeed, the *Milku*… ht of property asserted, is most com-
monly and distinctly stated t… to the Chowdrahi,† Canungoi, and
Mokaddammi. If such were … case, it would follow that the same

* Situation of Chowdri.

† Or Anglice Chowdriship, Canungoshi… e of Mokaddam.

land might have two different kinds of absolute proprietors, for Mokaddams, who had the right of selling their Mokaddammi, existed (in Cuttack at least) on the Talúk of every Chowdri and Canungo, who might similarly dispose of his Talúkdari or a part of it. The difficulty vanishes when we view them, as, what they unquestionably were, offices connected with the land, of different degrees of authority and importance, each having its distinct duties and perquisites. In the Southern Pergunnahs, formerly under the Khúrda Rajas, where the hea[illegible]ntants retain their old Hindi appellation of Padhan a[illegible]nstantly selling shares of their *Padhanee* and *Bhoï G*[illegible]nd accountant, with a proportionate allotment of t[illegible]ssúm attached; and these transfers, the real natur[illegible]e to mistake, serve to throw a strong light on the [illegible]actions in other parts, where the use of terms of d[illegible]ed the subject with a degree of ambiguity which p[illegible]gether dispelled.

Actual sales of *land*, or [illegible]however unknown under the native administrati[illegible]ever it was clearly intended to sell such, so ma[illegible]e plainly stated in the Qobalehs to be the subject of transfer, without any periphrasis as to the Zemindari, Talúkdari, or Mokaddammi right in them. Such sales however were confined to a particular description of land called *Arazi Banjar Kharij Jamma*, or ground, waste, unoccupied, and unassessed, in the disposal of which the Talúkdars and Mokaddams were allowed by prescription to exercise considerable privileges. If only two or three bigas were sold for the building of a house, patna, &c. or disposed of as rent free, the individual Talúkdar or Mokaddam executed the deed, with the sanction of the ruling power, implied by the necessary attestation of the *Sudder* Canungo, or his agent: if a larger quantity as a batti, or so, was to be assigned away, the deed of transfer was executed jointly by the Chowdris, Canungos, and Mokaddam, or Mokaddams. This mode of transfer gave rise to a curious tenure in the

district of Cuttack, called Kharideh or *purchased*, and Milk Kharidah, which often comprized much valuable land, owing to good land being fraudulently alienated, instead of the *Ranjar* which the deeds set forth, and they formed a constant subject of scrutiny and resumption on the part of the Officers of the native government. The purchasers of such property often again transferred it to others, and the privilege of sale likewise seems to have been conceded to those who enjoyed rent free lands, under grants of the government as, milk, ayma and madadmash. A full discussion and investigation of these matters would however lead so far, that I am obliged to content myself with the above general reference to the principal considerations which strike me as [illegible] n the land tenure in Orissa Proper.

I have inserted in the [illegible] ew deeds of sale and sun-

* *Sale of a Chowdree's Talook a* [illegible] *Signature of the Sudder Canoongoe's*

I who am Ruttun Mun Gujinde[illegible] Gujinder Chowdree, son of——— inhabitant of Ma. Shamsoonderpor[illegible] Budruck. Since I am altogether unable to pay the balances due fro[illegible] Mouzahs Shamsoonderpore, &c. in the above Pergunnah, and have[illegible] account by the Ohdedar Mirza Bengalee Beg, I do of my own free[illegible] 104 K. 10 P. as per margin to Rasbeharee Mahapater, son of Oore[illegible]ree Dhur Hurrichundun, inhabitant of Mouzah Byaung Pergunnah [illegible] four Biswa Talook, together with the Duftur Chowdraee which I have held to this [illegible] proprietory possession [Kiala Haz ul yuom dur tuht tusrroof Malikaneh mi dasht]. Let the purchaser as long as he lives, and after him his sons and his son's sons exert themselves in bringing the same into cultivation and be careful to discharge the Government dues. He will enjoy the profits and make good any losses that may ensue. Neither I, nor my heirs, nor my brothers, nor their heirs, will hereafter have any right or title in the Talook. Should any one advance a claim, it will be false and unfounded. This is written as a Sunnud Kobaleh Talookdaree [or Deed of Sale of a Talookdaree.] Dated 28th of the month Rubbee Ool Awwul 1168 Umlee.

2 Mouzahs and 13 Biswas, Mokurree Ruqba. Arazee Battees 540 2 12 0

	Sa. Rs.	*A.*	*G.*	*C.*
Mokurrureh Tunka Ruqmee, - - - - - - - -	Rs. 937	11	0	0
Jumma Kemal Cowris, - - - - - - - -	K. 547	4	0	0
	Kahuns	*P.*	*G.*	*C.*
Ryottee, - - - - - - - -	524	5	0	0
Moojraee, - - - - - - - -	22	15	0	0

Total two Mouzas 13 Biswas, and the *Dufter* of 4 Biswas of the Pergunnah, viz. Shamsoonderpore 1 Mouza—Kath Moonda 1 ditto—Kistmut Husanabad 8 Biswas—Kismut Roopa 5 Biswas.

Deed

nuds, selected from a vast … such documents in my possession, which will serve to illustrate the a… maintained in the preceding pages.

Deed of Sale o… a Talook of Willaity Canoongoe.

Purchaser Meer Kumal Ood De… Meer Moosabit, son of Meer Umad; Seller Juggunath Maintee, son of Muhee Maintee, Ca… illaity of Pergunnah Coordais, in the Sircar of Cuttack. Since I the Seller have to this day … le and entire Talookdaree and Willaity Canoongoeship of Mouza Jinkar Sowanlo, in the abo… ah, my Talooka [Talooka Bundeh ki dur tuht o tusur-roof Malikaneh khood dasht] in full … possession, I now sell the same with all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto, as M… , Ashjar, Ahjar, &c. &c. of my own free consent, for the sum of one hundred Kahawuns of … air and even price, to the above mentioned Purchaser. Having received the amount I have … the Treasury of the Fotedar of the Pergunnah in dis-charge of my balances. Let the Pu… tivate the above Village, pay the public dues and bring it under his Talookdaree and Canoo… gement [ba Talookdaree of Canoongoe khood uml nu-moodeh]. Neither I, nor my heirs w… have any claim.

1 Mouza.

Mokurrureh Ruqba Arazee Battee…	-	-	-	-	113 0 0
Ditto Tunkha Ruqmee,	-	Sa. Rs.	273	0 0	
Ditto Jumma Kumal Couris,	-		607	0 0	
Price of Talookdaree and Willaity …	hip, to be separated, Kah.		100	0 0	

from the Talooka of the Seller Jugun… ee, and entered as a Talooka Muzkooree, dated 16th Showal, 1132 Umlee.

On the back the Chehreh Bundee, … ive Roll of the Seller is given.

Sale of Ground.

I who am Sudanund Mahapat… pee Mahapater, son of Moorley Mahapater, Chowdree of Pergunnah Byaung, in the Sircar … k, in the full possession of my senses, of my own free consent declare that I have sold a … bout 11 Bigas 19 12 of land *Bunjur Kharij Jumma* 26 Dustee measurement on the Ruqba of … arinkuntpore, my Talooka, (or dependent on me) which as specified below has to this day be… ssession, with every thing on and belonging to it to the revered Saeed ood Deen Mohummud… n of Sicca Rupees 19 3, the fair and current price. Let him dispose of it as he likes; should t… ver claim a Jumma from it, I will be answerable.

Here follows a specification of bou… Dated 10th Rejeb, 1144 Umlee.

Deed granting Ground … t, by Talookdars of a Pergunnah jointly.

We who are Futteh Khan Chowdr… e Canoongoe and Kishen Canoongoe Zemindars of Pergunnah Saeed Abad in the Sirc… ick, declare as follows: Since Bishnoo Churn Doss Birjabashee, inhabitant of Mouzah … rgunnah Deogaon Bissee has no means of subsist-ence and is unable to give food to the … Fakirs and Byshnoos, who are constantly resorting to him, and thereby suffers extreme dist… ve therefore of our own accord and free will appointed 7 Battees 7 Bigas 11 Ghoonts Arazee … arij Jumma, from the Ruqba of the Mouzahs attach to our Talooks as below, to be hereafter … as Khyrat. Let the above-mentioned take possession of the Land and bring into cultivati… nd the profits in maintaining himself and other Fakirs and Byshnoos; should we or our heirs … ipt to resume it, may we go to hell. This is given as a Sunnud Khyrat.

Here follows a specification of the … each Talook from which the Land was granted. Dated 16th Jumadool Awwul, 1155 Umle…

Another Selling Ditto.

We who are Jye Kishen Raee Canoongoes Sudder, Ramchunder Bhooyan Canoongoe Willaity, Deen Mohummud Chowdree, and Sirdar Puttee, Chundoo Naik, Rajib Naik, &c. Moquddums of Pergunnah Sunnawut, in the Sircar of Budruck declare as follows: Since about 1 Battee 8 Bigas 12 Ghoonts of Land, on the Ruqba of Mouzahs Khundibra, Pustapore, and Mundial, our Talooks had become entirely waste and deserted [wyran oftadeh] we have measured out the same with the authorized Pudkeh, and have sold it for the sum of Sa. Rs. 35 to the respected Sir Must Khan according to legal forms. Let the aforenamed Khan take possession of the same and proceed to establish garden and Putna with the fullest confidence and security. Neither we nor our heirs will ever hereafter have Davee, Dukhl, or Huq, of any sort, in the above-mentioned parcel of ground. Dated the 11th Sowal, 1121 Umlee.

Here follows the usual Chuckbundee.

Deed of Sale of the Zemindaree of a Village.

I who am Busunt Raee, son of Sudashib Raee, son of Jeet Raee, inhabitant of Kusbeh Pergunnah Hurrihurpore, in the Sircar of Cuttack, in the full possession of my senses declare in this Mujlis, that the Zemindaree and Talookdaree and Moquddumee of Mouza Naroo, in Pergunnah Athaees has been heretofore in my possession (dur taht i bundeh). Being unable from land falling out of cultivation to pay the public assessment, I have of my own free consent disposed of the Zemindaree of the said Mouza, for the sum of 500 Kahuns of Cowris of Luchmun Raee, son of Hur Raee, son of Baboo Raee, and have received the amount from the Tehvil of Narain Dutt Gundcoah. Let the purchaser take possession of the Zemindaree, &c. of the above Mouza, the Bhagat, Khanabaree (or Dehee) Land, the Cocoanut Plantations, &c. whatever in short attaches to it, and exerting himself to extend cultivation, and let him pay regularly the Government dues. Neither I, nor my heirs will hereafter advance any claim on the above Mouza. This is given as a Kobaleh and Kubzool Wusool. Dated Rubee ool Awwul, 1208 U.

Sale of a Moquddumee.

I who am Bynsee Sawunt Singhar, son of Dasruttee ditto, son of Inderjeet ditto, Moquddum of Mouza Isaupore under the Talookah of Jugganathpersaud in the Sircar of Budruck. Since I have hitherto held the Moquddumee of the above Mouza in full proprietory possession (dur taht o tusurroof Malikaneh khood dashtum,) but am now unable to pay the public Revenue assessed thereon; therefore of my own free will, in full possession of my senses, I sell the Moquddumee of the above Mouzah for the sum of 421 Kahuns of Cowris to Issun Sawant, son of Bhagiratee Sawunt, son of Bynsee Sawunt, Moquddum of Dewul Dehee on the above Talook. Having received the purchase money, I have paid it into the Tehvil of Hurree Sahoo, Fotedar of the above Talook. I hereby declare that let the purchaser taking possession of the Moquddumee of the above Village, exert himself with full confidence in the cultivation of it and pay the Government dues. Neither I, nor my brethren, nor my heirs will hereafter advance any claims thereon. This is given as a Sunnud Kobaleh Moquddumee.

ONE MOUZA.

Moqurrureh, Arazee,	107	12	0
Ditto Tunkhah Ruqmee, Rs.	203	8	0
Ditto Jumma Kumal, Khs.	151	12	0
Ryottee,	145	10	0
Mujraee,	6	2	0
Kahuns, Cowris,	151	12	0

Dated 21st Ramzan, 1178 Umlee.

Deed

Deed of Sale by Pudhans of Mouza Odeypore in Pergunnah Limbaee. [*Oria.*]

Dated Wednesday, 27th Assin, in the 43d Ank or year of the reign of Raja Beer Kishore deo Maharajah.

We four persons, Dhurnee Das, Koornee Das, Kesub Das and Seba Das, Pudhans of Mouza Odeypore in Pergunnah Limbaee, having this day received from Kishen Patjoosee Mahapater, inhabitant of Putna Kishen Sarunpore *Hat* Delang in the above Pergunnah, the sum of Rs. 76-8 in cowris, or at the current rate of exchange of 2k. 4p. per rupee, altogether 172 kahuns, which is a fair price, execute the following deed of sale. We sell to you our Pudhanee or right of management (huki-serberah) in the whole of the said village of Odeypore, the Ruckba of which is about 15 battees, 10 bigas, and also our Hita Pudhanee or service lands, which are 3 bigas Dehee, 3 bigahs Kala, and 7 bigas Sarud, altogether 13 bigas. You will hold the Pudhanee of the village as long as the sun, moon and earth last. Should any Sawunt or chief, or our heirs or any other claimants advance a claim, we will be responsible, so long also you will enjoy the Hita Pudhanee or service lands, which we have sold, with every thing above and beneath, water, dry land, mineral productions, wells, wood, stones, fruit trees, &c. You may cut down and plant trees on the ground and act as you please with the above Hita, also you will receive the customary Sarhee (Siropa) of Sri Jugunnath Jeo. This Deed will stand for ever as a Kiria Putr and Bishodun or receipt.

Witnesses, several Pudhans and Bhoees.

Deed of Sale by a Village Accountant.

Dated Monday, 25th Assin, in the 17th Ank the reign of Biresree Raja Dirb Sing Deo Maharajah.

I who am Rugoo Nath Maintee, Bhooee of M ee Pot Matiapara in Pergunnah Limbaee, execute in behalf of Sunkur Putnaik, inhabitan Odeypore the following Deed of Sale, having this day received from you the sum of 35 owris or kahuns 83-2 at the rate of 2-6 per rupee, which is a fair and even price, I hereby s a exchange for that sum the Bhooee Giri or Office of Bhooee of the said Mouza, which was rchased by my father with the sanction of the Maharaja. The Ruckbah of the village is ab ees (or bigas 1,700). I sell you likewise my Hita lands which are established at the customa -8 per battee, with my Dustooree and Russoom. You will enjoy the office of Bhooee an nd as long as the sun, moon and earth last. Should any Sawunt (chief) or Huqdar, or neigl irs of mine advance any claims, I shall be responsible for satisfying them. Till the day o n you will possess the Hita land, and every thing above and beneath it—water, dry land, oductions, ponds, wells, trees, stones—you may cut down and plant trees at your pleasure. ven as a Deed of Sale and receipt.

PART II.

Chronology and History.

THE learned Natives of Cuttack maintain, that, in latter ages, upon the decline of that great monarchy of upper India, whose history seems destined to remain for ever buried in the darkness of fable and uncertain tradition, four principal thrones or races of Hindoo Princes ruled over the country, viz. the Narapati, the Aswapati, the Chatter or Chatrapati, and the Gajapati. By the first they understand the Ram Rajas or Sovereigns of Teligana and the Carnatic, who [illegible] the earlier Musselman invaders of the Deccan, under Sultan A[illegible]; the second throne they place in the Marhatta country, and in[illegible]esignate by the epithet, no doubt, the old and powerful Rajas of [illegible]or Tagara, of whom frequent mention is made in Ferishteh; by [illegible]* they mean apparently the celebrated line of Rajpút Princes [illegible]escendants are found at Ambher and Jyepur; the fourth is the t[illegible] to the Monarchs who ruled over Orissa, from the earliest times [illegible]y authentic records are preserved. The origin of these thro[illegible]overeignties, they trace back to the four great feudal vassals of [illegible]ire, which they firmly believe to have extended over the whole [illegible]lustan, from the commencement at least of the Cali yuga; and th[illegible]in their titles by reference to the nominal offices held, or services [illegible]ed by them, when in attendance on the Lord Paramount or supre[illegible] at the Court of Hastina (Hastinapura) and Delhi. Thus the [illegible]† is supposed by some to have been the commander of the armies: the Aswapati, the lord or master of the horse; the Chatrapati, the bearer of the imperial umbrella or standard of

* I should myself be inclined to place the *Chatrapati* Rajas in the Marhatta country, as Sri Chatrapati was one of the titles adopted by the Peshwahs, and it seems reasonable to suppose that they may have borrowed it from an ancient local dynasty so designated.

† The titles imply respectively, "Lord of Men;" "Lord of horses;" "Lord of the Umbrella," and "Lord of Elephants," or as we should say, "Master of, &c."

state; and the Gajapati, the mast phants. Others have it that the epithets were derived from the d ns of the four gates of the palace, at which the chiefs in question tool itions, when present at the capital.

The recollections preserved of ices of Princes are by no means confined to Orissa. In the Canar Padhati translated by Dr. Bucha- nan, the fabulous monarchs are fi bed as usual beginning with Yu- dhisht'hira, and the author then st fter this Narapati, Gajapati, and Aswapati, three thrones were es He then details the Princes of the Narapati line, who ruled o ortion of the Deccan. They are now probably forgotten in upp but seem to have been perfectly well known and familiarly spok en at Delhi, only two centuries ago. There is a highly curious p the Ayin Acberi, where treating of the game of cards with whic nperor Acber recreated his royal mind, the writer observes, "This -known game. At first the pack consisted of twelve kings with rds dependent upon each in the following order. First, *Aswaput*, f the horses. He is painted on horse back like the king of Delhi, hutter, Alum, and other ensigns of royalty. Second, *Gujput*, th elephants, is mounted on an ele- phant like the king of *Orissa*. T rput, the king of men. Like the king of Vijayapur, (Quere, Vijaya he is seated on a throne and has different kinds of soldiers attending him foot," &c. &c.

It is of the fourth and probal portant race of Hindu monarchs of the middle ages, the Gajapat sa, that I propose to offer an ac- count in this part of my paper; der the chapter complete, I shall add a sketch of the history of tl e down to the date of the British conquest, A. D. 1803.

The earlier native histories of y are of the legendary or fabulous

* Derived from Gaja, an elepha potens,) a master or potentate.

class, copied from the Púranas, l
ful admixture of local traditions. T
ticity about the date of the access
473 A.D. prior to which the ac
hoods, contradiction, inconsisten
intelligible and unworthy of not
and events, only, has been preser
the Christian æra, and to adapt
gy, the brahmins, who will never
have been obliged to give an e
Rajas, in some cases of five or s
natural or possible term of the
uninteresting to those curious i
what traditions the natives of t
history in the earlier ages, I sha
annals from the remotest period

The sources from which my in
A work in Sanscrit called the
of Púri, said to have been orig
three or four centuries back, an
sent date. 2d The chapter of
in the temple of Jagannath,

llished or disfigured by a plenti-
r annals assume an air of authen-
family called the Kesari Vansa,
re so replete with obvious false-
nachronism, as to be equally un-
e memory of a few great names
o the fourth and fifth centuries of
heir favorite system of chronolo-
ant of information on any subject,
to the reigns of their traditionary
d years, and in all, far beyond the
life.* As, however, it will not be
ches into Hindu antiquity, to learn
rict have preserved regarding their
ny sketch of the contents of their
they profess to go back.

n has been chiefly derived are, 1st.
li, belonging to a learned brahmin
nposed by some of his ancestors
ued down in the family to the pre-
dala Panji or Records preserved
Ráj Charitra or "Annals of the

* Mr. Mill's observation on Hindu l
receive accounts, the m precise ano
name of a prince in after ages is presente
is said to have extended widely his co
years after Chandrabija. From that tin
their transactions till the era of Mohamm
tors." The writings called classical in
above passage, but the detail which I pr
lue or authenticity of my materials) that th
an appearance of truth, and which they
actions.

not hold good with regard to Orissa. "Whilst we
regarding the times of remote antiquity, not a
records. A great prince named Vicramaditya,
dominion and to have reigned at Magud'ha 396
it is silent. We hear no more of the Hindus and
st; when the Persians alone become our instruc-
ct us no further than the period indicated in the
e will show (whatever may be thought of the va-
this province *do* possess accounts, which carry
believe, of their more modern kings and their

Kings" in the Úria languag... s are stated to have been com-
menced upon more than six ... nd to have been since regularly
kept up. 3d. Another Vansa... y written in Sanscrit on leaves
of the Palmyra tree, procu... nin living in the family of the
Raja of Puttia Sarengerh, ... es of the royal house of Orissa.
Less certain and trust-wort... e above, are to be met with in
the numerous Genealogies, ... is, as they are vulgarly term-
ed, possessed by nearly e... manac maker in the province.
They in general abound wit... sistencies, but occasionally a
few facts or illustrations m... them.

Conformably with the ... d, of the existence of a great
empire at Delhi, to whic... tood in a vassal and feuda-
tory relation, the annals ... e with the death of Krishna,
the opening of the Cali y... 01 B. C. and the reigns of Jo-
jishtee Deo, or Yudhisht'h... Janamejaya. Twelve years
after the setting in of the ... month of Cheyte, when the
moon was in the lunar n... ra called Purv Asárh, at the
moment of the rising of th... onstellation, called the *Great*
Bear, Parikshita the ... grandson of Arjun, is said to
have ascended the imp... He reigned 757 years, and his
son Janamejaya 512 year... ncient temple at Agráhát in
killah Dáljúra about eigh... e town of Cuttack, which the
brahmins of the place sa... is Raja Janamejaya during
his progress over India, ... ory Rajas of the country in
his train; and they poin... e he performed the sacrifice
for the destruction of ser... e death of his father. The
circumstance merits notic... with a somewhat similar tra-
dition, recorded in an in... e, communicated to the Asia-
tic Society by the late C... (vide Researches, vol. ix.)
and what is further curiou... he place, is, that the ground

around is strewed with numerous
miniature about three feet long,
at an acknowledged seat of Jain
say amounted formerly to sever
mejaya to commemorate the g
to other accounts, to stand as
of India, who were not in atten

After these celebrated heroe
Princes, whose names I have n
for the moderate space of 1636
Rajas of the province, but in
tinction is drawn between those
princes, and those whom it is
large part of India. Goutama I
mejaya is said to have added t
in Ganjam, as far as the Godav
son, founds Raj Mahendri or R
Prince is assiduous in his devo
reign of Bajranath Deo, the
numbers from Babul Des, e
finally driven back. Then follo
some strange anachronism, about
Delhi with a large army and f
a warlike prince, is attacked
written, and always so inco
The Raja defeats the invad
upon Delhi, and reduces a g
or Hangsha Deo, the Yavar
Cashmir, and many bloody

Respecting these Yavana

ne pillars, shaped like temples in
esembling those found in Khúrda
, which the brahmins of Agráhát
, and were set up by Raja Jana-
fice there performed; or according
es for those Rajas or Vassal Lords
he ceremony.

antiquity, we have a list of other
e met, viz. eight Rajas who reign
tany of them are obviously merely
e succession of reigns, no dis-
es who were local or dependant
o represent as the monarchs of a
econd in succession from Jana-
from the Mahendra Mali hills
ominions. Mahendra Deo, his
Shewak Deo, a very religious
temple of Jagannáth. In the
ne country in great
bul, but they are
omprehensible story, involving
Himarut khan, who comes from
uccessor, Sarsankh Deo,
whose name is variously
impossible to unravel it.
by his success, advances
y. In the reign of Hans
ountry in great force from

entioned in the legendary

97/112

portion of Orissan history, I should observe that the word in all the original Uria accounts is written *Jabañ*, and the natives whom I have employed to translate both these and the Sanscrit Vansavalis, always render it *Mogul*. Who they really were, if they ever entered the country at all, may be plausibly guessed in some instances from their being said to come from Babul Des and Cashmir, by which the Hindus understand generally Persia, Affghanistan, and part of Tartary. Nothing however can exceed the looseness and confusion of my authorities, in speaking of countries and nations beyond their own immediate frontier. They often bring the Yavanas* from Delhi, by which appellation the … to point to some great monarchy or monarchies lying to the northw… d westward, of which they have preserved an indistinct notion, rath… to the particular city so named. Dr. Buchanan has remarked a simila… ee of confusion on this same point in the historical recollections of th… nins of the southern countries of India. He observes, vol. iii. page … apter xv. "Who were these Yavanas? The word properly signi… European, but as the Hindus speak with great confusion concerning … thern and western nations, it is often confounded with the Mlechchas a… rks, Arabs or Tartars, and all these terms are frequently applied to th… ulman."

Next in the series of kings, co… ja Bhoja, who is made to reign 127 years, that is from about B. C. 18… C. 53. He was, according to the Orissan Chronicles, a brave, libera… and merciful prince. 'He conquered the whole of India and took tribut… from all the Rajas of it. His Court was adorned by the presence of 750 eminent poets, the chief of whom was Calidasa, author of the 752 Ashloks called the Chanak or Chataka, and Maha Nataka. Raja Bhoja invented boats, the weavers' loom, and wheeled carriages, or at least in his time the use of them first became common. In this reign the Yavanas from Sindhu Des invaded the country in great force

* The section before quoted from the 10th chapter of the Institutes of Menu, distinctly classes *Yavanas* as one of the degraded races of Cshatriyas or *Hindus*.

but Bhoja discomfited and destro erwards captured many of their possessions and cities.

Sri Bickermajit or Vicramádity call brother, and others son of Bhoj Raja, whilst other connection,) succeeded to the throne and reigned 135 yea ster of all sciences and a great magician. Having subjec etála or eight demons to his control, he could perform ma ts, such as travelling one hundred jojuns or 400 cos per g fire, and stopping the current of water by the force of l . So great was the fame of his wisdom, that he was on one to the heaven of Indra to settle a fierce dispute which ha the Deotas respecting the relative merits of two of the h s, named Rembhá and Úrvasí. His decision in the impo itted to his arbitration, obtained great applause, and the him with a present of the famous magic throne called the n returning to the "*Martyá-loka*," or region of mortals, mu at he had seen above, he became sole and undisputed Mah ole face of the earth, and received the title of Raja Adhira ja of Rajas. Through fear of his power, the Yavanas al y. At last came Sáliváhana from the Deccan, who attack red Vicramáditya, put him to death, and assumed the reins om that period the æra called the Sacábda prevailed, and w to all the Pánjis.

I cannot pass over the al rtant event in Indian history, marked by the introduction into all the southern countries, without specifying precisely rent authorities express themselves regarding it, though hey throw no new light on the question of who this myst ge Sáliváhana really was? and whence he came? The ext Mandala Panji says, "After ma- "ny years Saca Deo Brahm tishthánapura came with a large "army, attacked the Mah máditya, and having conquered

"and destroyed him, fixed the seat of his empire at Delhi." The author of the Vansavali states, "With the assistance (or at the instigation) of the "Yavanas, a person named Nri Nikas Sáliváhana Saca Hara* fought many "battles with the Raja, and deposed him from the throne of Delhi. From "that period begins the æra called the Sacábda."

It will be curious, and not altogether unprofitable, to compare these relations with a passage in Major Wilford's distinguished Essay on Vicramáditya and Sáliváhana. He says, page 123, "In the seventh section of the "Vrihat-catha, we read, that there was a king of Pátaliputrapura, called "Vicramáditya, who hearing of the growing power of Nrisinha, king of the "consecrated city or *Pratishtána* called to his assistance the *Gajapati*,† "(lord of the Elephants or king of Thibet,) and the *Aswapati*, (lord of "Horses or Horsemen, or the king of Persia.) The confederates took the "field but were defeated by Nrisinha Nripa or Sáliváhana with an incredi- "ble slaughter. Vicramáditya fled with the utmost precipitation," &c. In another part it is observed that Vicramáditya "obliged Cataca (Cattaca) to submit;" probably brought it into a dependant and tributary relation to his government, which may account for his being classed amongst the ancient Sovereigns of the province.

From the commencement of the Cali yuga to the fall of Vicramáditya, Thirteen Rajas are made to reign for the monstrous term of years 3173, viz.

	Years.
Yudhisht'hira Deo, - - - - - - - - - - - -	12
Parikshita, - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	757
Janamejaya, - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	516
Sambar or Sancara Deo, - - - - - - - - - -	410
Gautama Deo, - - - - - - - - - - - -	373

* An ignorant translator employed by me, rendered *Saca Hara*, *Sheikh Hara*.

† Query, the Raja of Orissa and the Sovereign of the Marhatta country?

Mahindra Deo,	215
Ashti Deo,	134
Shewak or Ashok Deo,	150
Bajra Nath,	107
Sarsankh,	115
Hansh or Hansa,	122
Bhoja,	127
Vicramáditya,	135*
Total	3,173 years.

After that event, the æra of Sáliváhana which dates its commencement from A. D. 77 in Orissa, is used in all the accounts, and we now come to reigns of a probable and moderate duration, the first dawning of an approach to the authentic period of the native history.

The Raj Charitra goes on to state, "Afterwards Karmajit, (Cramáditya,) "son of the *above*, (Query, Vicramáditya?) ruled over Or Desa or Orissa. "He was devoted to the worship of Jagannáth and died A. S. 65." Then follow four unimportant reigns remarkable only for mention of invasions by the Yavanas. The Rajas names are as follows:

	Years.
Bato Kesari, reigns	51
Tirbhobun Deo,	43

* It may be observed that a list of this description uniformly introduces the genealogies of every race of princes in the Dekhin, and originates with an attempt to fill up a blank in the local histories, with persons borrowed from the Puranas or from tradition. The age of Bhoja is now well established as being assignable to the ninth or tenth century, this being made therefore anterior to Vicramáditya who lived before our æra shews with what imperfect knowledge of dates and persons these lists are compiled; neither was a son of Bhoja named Vikramá which might form a plausible excuse for the confusion, it being ascertained by inscriptions, older probably than these lists, that the son and successor of that prince was named Kalabhoja. In point of history and chronology however neither Vicramá nor Bhoja have any connexion with the dynasties in which the Chroniclers of the Peninsula have enrolled them.—*Note by the Secretary.*

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Nirmal Deo,	45
Bhima Deo,	37

In the time of Subhan Deo the next in the series of kings, who succeeded to the Raj A. D. 318, relation is given of an extraordinary and incomprehensible occurrence, of which I am quite unable to offer any explanation. It has obviously been strangely distorted by popular tradition, though in all probability possessing a foundation in fact.

The following is an outline of the story alluded to. A Yavana, or foreigner, named Rakta Bahu, (the Red-Armed,) having assembled a large army with the intention of invading Orissa, embarked his troops on vessels with numerous horses and elephants, and having made the coast, anchored at a distance from the khetr of Jagannáth, hoping to take Púri by surprise. The dung, straw, &c. of the horses and elephants, happening however to float ashore in quantities, attracted the notice of some of the people of the town. They immediately reported the unusual appearance to the Raja, who guessed that some powerful enemy was coming to attack him. Seized with a panic he took the image of Sri Jeo or Jagannáth out of the temple, lodged it in a covered cart with all its jewels and utensils, and fled away to Sonepur Gopalli, the most remote town on his western frontier. The Yavanas landed, and not finding the prince, plundered the town and temple and committed great excesses every where. The Raja's alarms increased on receiving intelligence of the proceedings of the invaders: he now buried the image under the ground, planted a *ber* tree over it, and himself fled farther into the jungles. The Yavanas, unable to understand how he had escaped them, began to institute enquiries on the subject, when some of the low people of the coast informed them of the way in which their approach had been discovered. Enraged with the ocean for disclosing his secret, Rakta Bahu drew out his armies to chastise its waters. The sea, on observing such formidable preparations, retreated for nearly a cos—the infatuated Yavanas rushed on—when the tide sud-

denly returning with tremendous noise and fury, swallowed up a great portion of the army and inundated the whole country to a frightful extent. The flood reached inland as far as the Baronai Pahar of Khúrda, taking with it immense quantities of sand. It was at this time that the Chilka lake was formed by the irruption of the waters of the ocean.

The Raja died shortly afterwards in the jungles. His son Indra Deo succeeded to the title, but was captured and murdered by the invaders. A Yavana dynasty then ruled over Orissa for the space of 146 years. Thus were completed years 396 of the Sacábda.

Possibly the tradition which I have described above, may have some connection with the fierce religious disputes which raged between the worshippers of Brahma and Buddha about the period in which the invasion of foreigners and the flight of Jagannáth is placed, and which as is well known terminated in the expulsion of the latter from the continent of India. A real irruption of the ocean may have occurred in the same age, and this natural calamity, the ever active invention of the Brahmin Chroniclers chose to ascribe to the authors of the bloody wars, revolutions, and other moral evils, which afflicted the country at the time. But it were vain to speculate farther on the origin of an account which is perhaps altogether the work of imagination, and the unravelling of which at all events would require the exercise of much more learning and ingenuity than I can bring to the task.

We come now to the accession of the Rajas called the Kesari *Pat* or Vansa, A. D. 473, from which period I should be disposed to date the commencement of the real history of the province, but before entering upon the account of their reigns I should observe that there is nothing in the preceding relation to explain what is meant by the "eradicated race of Utcala,"* alluded to in the inscription on the pillar at Buddal, which Major Wilford refers to the expulsion of a martial race of Princes from

* Vide Asiatic Researches, vol. i.

Orissa by the Carna Emperors of Behar, prior to the accession of the Gujapatis; but it would obviously be easy enough to imagine a space for the occurrence of such a revolution, in some of those chasms of upwards of a century's duration, which intervene between many of the early reigns.

No information whatever is afforded as to the origin and pedigree of the Princes called the Kesari Vansa or Kesari Bans. The founder of the new dynasty was Jajati (Yayáti) Kesari, a warlike and energetic prince, but who he was or whence he came we are not apprized. He soon cleared his dominions of the Yavanas who then retired to their own country. His Court was held at Jájepur where he built a palace (Nour) and castle, called Choudwar, or the mansion with four gates. The most important event of his time was the recovery of the image and the restoration of the worship of Jagannáth. Directed by certain omens and supernatural appearances, he proceeded to the Purushottem Khetr to institute enquiries regarding the idol and the temple, when the brahmins of the place informed him that a tradition existed amongst them of Sri Jeo (Jagannáth) having been carried off, upwards of a century and a half before, to Sonepur Gopallí, on the invasion of a person called Rakta Báhu, where the form had ever since remained concealed from mortal eyes. This intelligence induced the Raja to make a visit to the jungles of Sonepur. Miraculously guided, he discovered after some search the place where Sri Jeo had been buried, cuts down the ber or banyan tree which overshadowed the sacred spot, and finds the image or images encased in a stone vault, much decayed and disfigured. His next care was to search out the Dytapatís and Shewaks, or officiating priests, descended from those who formerly fled from Púri, and having discovered several of them in the Rattenpur country, he consulted with them how the worship of Jagannáth should be revived in all its ancient splendour. The formation of a new image being considered an indispensible preliminary, the priests proceeded into the woods to look for a proper *daru* or piece of timber, and having found one with all the requisite qualities indicated by the

shastras, they brought it to the Raja, who, filled with pious zeal, clothed both it and the old images in rich robes, and conducted them in great state to Púri. A new temple was then erected on the site of the old one, which was found to be much dilapidated and overwhelmed with sand. The four images were afterwards duly prepared and set up on their sinhasan or throne with much pomp and solemnity on the 5th of Kakara (Cancer) the thirteenth year of the Raja's reign, amidst the shouts and rejoicings of the multitude. At the same time the necessary officers were appointed, feasts and festivals established, sásans founded, and the whole country around Púri assigned as endowments for the maintenance of the temple. On this memorable occasion the Raja received by general acclamation the title of the second Indradyumna.

Towards the close of his reign, Raja Yayáti Kesarí began the buildings at Bhuvaneswar, and died A. D. 520.

The reigns assigned to his two successors, Suraj Kesarí and Ananta Kesarí, are probably of too long duration, being altogether ninety-seven years, and are distinguished by nothing remarkable, excepting that the latter prince began the building of the great temple at Bhuvaneswar.

He was succeeded A. D. 617 by Lalat Indra Kesarí, a personage of high repute in the legends of the Bhuvaneswar temple, in consequence of his having built or completed the great pagoda at that place sacred to Mahádeo under the title of the Ling Raj Bhuvaneswara, in the year of Sáliváhana 580 and A. D. 657. He also founded there a large and populous city containing seven *saïs* and forty-two streets which became the capital of the Raj.

An uninteresting series of thirty-two reigns of the Kesarí Princes follows, extending through a period of 455 years, of the history of which little is given excepting the characters of the Rajas and some absurd stories

connected with the temples of Jagannáth and Bhuvaneswara. A few particulars worth noticing however may be gleaned from the accounts, such as that the rate at which the ryots were taxed by the sovereign was five káhans of cowris per batti, or about one anna per biga. One of the Rajas named Bariya Kesarí, in a time of emergency, raised the demand for revenue as high as one káhan of cowris per biga, or four times the former amount, but his successor Súraj Kesarí reduced it to the old rate. Raja Nirúpa Kesarí, a martial and ambitious prince, who was always fighting with his neighbours, is said to have first planted a city on the site of the modern Cuttack, about A. D. 989. The reign of Markat Kesarí was distinguished for the construction of a stone revetment, or embankment faced with that material, (probably the ancient one of which the remains are yet to be seen), to protect the new capital from inundation A. D. 1006; and Madhava Kesarí has the credit of building a fortress of vast dimensions at Sarangher.

Different stories are related of the extinction of the Kesarí family. The Raj Charitra says, that the last of the line died childless, when at the suggestion of the deity, another family were brought from the Carnatic by Basudeb Banpati and placed on the throne. The Vynsavali ascribes the change of dynasty to a dispute between the Raja and this same Basudeb Ban[illegible] a brahmin and powerful officer of the court, who having been driven with indignity from the royal presence, went to the Carnatic and instigated a person named Chúrang or Chor Ganga to invade Orissa. He conquered Cuttack, on Friday, the 13th of Assin, A. S. 1054 or A. D. 1131, and thus acquired the sovereignty of the country. Both accounts agree in giving the above as the date of the accession of Raja Chúrang Deo. This personage, whatever his real origin, is fabled to have been the offspring of the goddess Ganga Sana or the lesser Ganges (Godaveri) by a form of Mahadeo. With him began the race of princes called the Ganga Vansa, or Gangbans line, who ruled the country for about four centuries, a

period fertile in great names and events of importance, and which forms unquestionably the most brilliant and interesting portion of Orissan history, if such terms may be applied to the annals of a hitherto unknown dynasty, governing one only of the many provinces which now constitute the British empire in India.

Chúrang, or Sarang Deo, held the reins of government for twenty years, and conformably with his supernatural origin is believed to have been a skilful magician. It is said of him that he established the records of the Jagannáth Temple called the Mandala Pánjí, and was a great worshipper of certain forms of Devi to the neglect of all the other gods and goddesses. The memory of his reign and of his singular name, which is certainly not an Uria one, is preserved in a Sai or quarter of the town of Púri, with a tank called the Chúrang Sai. Tradition also ascribes to him the building of forts and palaces both at Sarangher and Cuttack Choudwar.

His son Gangeswara Deo succeeded A. D. 1151. His dominions reached from the Ganges to the Godaveri. He had five kutuks or Royal metropolises, viz. Jajpur, Choudwar, Amrávati, Chatta or Chatna and Biranassi, the modern Cuttack. The account which places Amrávati, a town near the Kistna in the heart of the Deccan, amongst the capital cities of this Raja, is one of the commoner genealogies to which I attach a great degree of credit. It is not improbable, however, that the place may have formed part of a principality held by Chúrang Deo when invited to ascend the throne of Orissa, which thereby became annexed, temporarily to the latter Raj; and claims and political relations arising out of the possession of it, may have been one cause of the frequent expeditions south of the Godaveri and the interference in the affairs of Telingana and the Carnatic, which we shall find to be henceforwards exercised by the Ganga Vansa Rajas.

As a specimen of the morals of the Court of Orissa in this age it should be mentioned, that Raja Gangeswara Deo committed incest with his own

daughter, to expiate which offence he dug a superb tank by the advice of the brahmins, called the Kousala Ganj, which is still pointed out between Khúrda and Pipley.

After two short and unimportant reigns, Raja Anang Bhím Deo, one of the most illustrious of the Princes of the Ganga Vansa line, ascended the Gajapati Sinhasan or throne of the Gájapatis, A. D. 1174. He resided during the early part of his reign in the Nour or palace called Choudwar at Jajepur, but was induced by some omen to build a magnificent palace on the site of Fort Barabatti, adjoining the town of Cuttack, where he afterwards held his Court chiefly. The construction of the present castle of that name should in all probability be referred to this period, though a later date is generally assigned to it. Raja Anang Bhím Deo may be called the Firoz Shah of the age and country, from the number and variety of public works executed by his orders for the benefit or ornament of his dominions. Having unfortunately incurred the guilt of killing a brahmin, motives of superstition prompted him to construct numerous temples as an expiation for his offence, whilst the suggestions of a noble and princely spirit urged him to a large expenditure on works of more direct public utility, as tanks, wells, and bridges. He is said to have built sixty stone dewals or pagodas, ten bridges, forty wells, one hundred and fifty-two ghats, and to have founded four hundred and fifty sasans or villages, containing colonies of brahmins, besides excavating a crore of tanks. He more especially filled the whole khetr of Jagannáth with sacred edifices, and the great temple was erected by his orders under the superintendence of Paramahans Bajpoi, at an expence of about thirty or forty lacs. The date of its completion was A. D. 1196. He at the same time enlarged considerably the establishment, added fifteen brahmin and fifteen súdra Shewaks or officiating priests, and gave fresh splendour to the worship of the deity of the place, by the institution of numerous bhogs and jatras (feasts and festivals.)

The most remarkable feature of Raja Anang Bhím Deo's reign, however,

is the measurement undertaken by him of the whole of the land comprized within his dominions, and the arrangements connected with that procedure. We are informed that under the superintendence of the principal ministers Damodar Bar Panda and Isan Patnaik, the whole country from the Ganges (Hoogley) to the Godaveri, and from the sea to the frontier of Sonepur, was measured out with the rods called Nal and *Padkeh*, The results were as follows, viz.

Total contents, (each batti containing 20 bigas,) - - -	*Battis* 62,28,000
Deduct, Ground occupied by sites of hills, beds of nullahs, towns, &c. and land irreclaimably waste, - - - - - -	14,80,000
Remains,	47,48,000

Of this quantity 24,30,000 battis* are stated to have been reserved as the Raja's *Nijkarch*, khaliseh or royal domain, and the remainder 23,18,000 battis were assigned for the support of his chiefs, armies, officers of state, brahmins, elephants, &c,

Connected with and illustrative of the above proceeding, a highly curious speech of the Raja's is given in the annals of the Púri temple, of which I shall here present an abstract translation. Having been warned in a dream by Parameswara (Sri Jagannáth,) that it was proper he should offer his devotions at Púri, the Raja proceeded to that place in the 12th year of his reign. After performing the usual worship with great pomp and solemnity, he collected about him the princes of his family, vassal lords, and chief officers of state, and held the following discourse: "Hear, Oh Chiefs and Princes, the arrangements which I have established for the ma-

* The amount of the estimate in square yards or miles, must depend on the size of the biga, which is not indicated. If we assume it at the present average of the province, the dominions of the Gajapatis included at that period more than 40,000 square miles.

nagement of my empire, the expenses of state, the pay of my armies and religious establishments, and the support of the royal treasury, and attend to the counsel which I give you. It is known to you that the Rajas of the Kesarí line ruled from the Kans Bans river on the north, to the Rassikoilah south, and from the sea on the east to the Dandpat of Bhímnagar* west, from which tract of country they derived a revenue of fifteen lacs of *marhs* of gold. By the grace of Sri Jagannáth, the Princes of the Ganga Vansa have, after subduing the khetris and bhuniyas (Zemindars), added to the Raj the following extent of country, viz. on the north that lying between the Kans Bans and the Dataï Borhí river, South the country from the Rassikoilah down to the Dandpat of Rajmandri, and west to the confines of Boad (Bodh) Sonepur, from which an increase of revenue of twenty lacs has been obtained; my total gross revenues therefore are thirty-five lacs of *marhs* of gold. Out of this amount I have assigned stated sums for the payment of the Sawants, (Commanders,) Mahawats, and Rawats, (chiefs of horses and elephants), priests, brahmins, and the worship of the deity. For the maintenance of the Paiks, Shewaks, (vassals or officers) and other servants of the state, lands have been duly set apart. Oh Princes and Chiefs, respect my arrangements, and beware that you never resume the above grants and allowances, lest you become liable to the penalty denounced in the shastras against those who take back what has been given. Above all in the management of the country under your charge, be just and merciful to the ryots, and collect revenue from them according to the fixed and established rate. As I have by my own good fortune and exertions accumulated a large treasure, viz. forty lacs of marhs of gold taken from the countries of the conquered bhuniyas, and jewels to the value of seven lacs eighty-eight thousand marhs, it is now my intention to devote a portion to the service of Jagannáth, by building a new temple one hundred cubits high, and bestowing a quantity of ornaments and utensils. Let me hear your opinions on this point." The ministers and

* New Deukhanal.

courtiers all replied that so good a work could not too soon be taken in hand, and that after the sagacity and prudence displayed by his majesty, any advice on their parts must be superfluous. An officer named Paramahans Bajpoi was therefore directed to take the work in hand forthwith, and twelve laçs and fifty thousand marhs of gold with jewels to the value of 2,50,000 were set apart for the purpose.

The marh of gold is stated to be equivalent to five mashas weight, a valuation which would raise the amount of the revenues of Orissa according to the above statement, far beyond what we can believe them ever to have stood at, even allowing, as offered in explanation, that the gold of that age was very impure, and that the statement includes the gross rents of the whole of the lands of the country, both the royal domains and those now held by the hill Zemindars and Poligars. It appears unaccountable too, why the sum total of the revenues should be stated in gold, when we know that cowris always formed the principal currency of the district. As I am unable to furnish any satisfactory elucidation of these points, I must leave the statement as it stands, content with having presented a faithful translation.

On the above occasion, likewise, a new coin and seal were struck by the Raja's orders, with the titles which are used to this day by the Khúrda Rajas, who claim to represent the majesty of this once powerful race. They run thus, "Vira Srí Gajapati, Gauréswara navakotíkernátotkalavergéswarádhiraï, Bhúta bhairava déva, Sádhusásanotkarana, Ráwat Raï, Atula balaprakarmasangráma Sahasra báhu, Kshetriya Kuladhúmrakétu," &c. "The illustrious Hero, the Gajapati (Lord of Elephants,) Sovereign of Gaúra (Bengal,) Supreme Monarch over the rulers of the tribes of Utkala, Kernáta, and the nine forts, a divinity terrible as Bhairava to the wicked, the protector of the grants enjoyed by the pious; king of kings: like the lord of a thousand arms in the field of battle by his unequalled might, and a comet (or portent) to the martial race,"

Many of the titles of persons of distinction, now in general use in the province, were introduced at that period, as Sawant, Mangraj, Bar Jenna, Patsahani, Bar Panda, &c. and we have imperfect hints given of offices, dignities, and institutions founded by Raja Anang Bhím Deo, as for instance the sixteen Sawants or great Lords of Orissa, the seventy-two Nijogs or servants, the thirty-six departments of state, &c. which excite additional regret at the slender and imperfect notices left to us of a reign, so pregnant with important changes and arrangements, whose influence may even yet be traced.

It is said that the Raja could muster 3,00,000 Paiks, but his army ordinarily consisted of 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse, with 2,500 elephants, at the head of which he was actively employed in chastising the turbulent and maintaining his authority, throughout the widely extended range of his dominions.

His son Rájeswara Deo reigned thirty-five years and was succeeded A. D. 1236 by Raja Narsinh Deo, surnamed Langora, a prince of great celebrity in the annals of Orissa, as well as in its legends and romances. His great personal strength, and skill in athletic exercises, seem to have invested him with a sort of supernatural character in the eyes of his subjects, and popular tradition has exaggerated some peculiarity in his figure or dress, into the fable of his being provided with a tail, whence is derived the epithet Langora. He is said to have been of a very martial turn, and to have waged a long war to the southward.

It was this Raja who built the famous temple of the sun at Kanárak, called by the Europeans the Black Pagoda "thereby, observes the Author of the Ayin Acberi, erecting for himself a lasting monument of fame." The work was executed chiefly under the superintendence of the minister Shibai Santra, and is stated to have been completed in the year of the Sacábda 1200, answering to 1277 A. D.

Major Stewart, in his history of Bengal, places an invasion of Orissa by the Musselmans of Bengal during this reign, that is, A. D. 1243. The Chronicles of the country contain no mention of such an event. I have not Major Stewart's authorities at hand to refer to, but strongly suspect that he has been led into an error by mistaking some word resembling Jajipur, for Jajipur in Orissa. He expresses himself thus, "In the year "641 (A. D. 1243) the Raja of Jagepur (Orissa) having given some cause "of offence, Toghan khan marched to Ketasun on the frontier of Jagepur "where he found the army of the Raja had thrown up intrenchments to op- "pose him." In a battle which ensued, the invaders were defeated, and the Hindus elated with their victory pursued them and ventured even to lay siege to Gour, but assistance arriving they retired. Now, in the first place, Jajipur was never a separate principality as here described, and there is no such place in Orissa as Ketasun. Ferishteh is altogether silent on the subject in his history of Bengal, but in his general history he ascribes the siege of Gour, in the very year in question, to a party of Mogul Tartars who had invaded Bengal by way of Chitta, Thibet, &c. Dow's mistake of a similar nature is scarcely worth noticing. He makes Sultan Balin pursue the rebel Toghral into Jajnagar (A. D. 1239), which he calls *Orissa*, whereas it is evident from the mention of Sunargaon, as lying on the road, that Jajnagar is some place beyond the Ganges.

After Raja Langora Narsinh Deo, five other princes named Narsinh (Nara Sinha) and six with the title of Bhánu, whom some describe as a separate family called Súraj-bansi (Surya Vansa), ruled over Orissa, until A. D. 1451. Their reigns are for the most part undistinguished by events of importance, but they have left some public works which coupled with other monuments of the Ganga Vansa Rajas, give a favorable impression of the public spirit and munificence of that race. Amongst these the fine bridge at the entrance of Púri called the Athara Naleh, said to have been built A. D. 1300, by Raja Kabir Narsinh Deo, is the most worthy of notice. A dreadful scarcity is recorded to have happened early in the 14th cen-

tury, when paddy rose to the (then) enormous price of 120 kahans of cowris per bharan—about three times its present *average* rate calculated in the same currency, but nearly sixty times the ordinary selling price of that age, if an account in my possession is to be credited, which states, that under the Bhanús, rice in the husk sold for two kahans per bharan, clean rice at ten cowris per ser, and cotton one pan ten gandas per ser.

The last of the Rajas surnamed Bhanu, being childless, he adopted as his son and successor a youth, named Kapila or Kapil Santra, of the Súraj-bansi tribe of Rajputs. The boy became afterwards a prince of high renown under the title of Kapil Indra Deo, and the Native Chroniclers have not failed therefore to embellish the history of his early life, with flattering fictions and stories of supernatural occurrences, prophetic of his future rise and greatness. It is said, that when a child, he gained his livelihood by tending the cows of a brahmin. One day his master found him fast asleep on the ground at mid-day, and a huge snake standing erect near him, with its hood spread out and held in such a manner, as to shelter him from the fierce rays of the meridian sun. This indication satisfied the brahmin that he was destined to become something great. Shortly after, the Raja, whilst passing one day to the temple, took notice of him, enquired his name, and being struck with his answers and appearance, finding moreover that he was by caste and descent a ráwat or leader of the Súraj-bansi Rajputs, he attached him to the royal household, where he speedily became a favorite. He was soon directed by Mahadeo in a dream to adopt him as his son and successor. The lad was now called Kapil Bhowarbar, and rose rapidly through several offices to the post of Pater or Prime Minister. The Moguls having come into the country from the north with a large army to demand tribute, the Raja feeling himself unable to cope with them in the field, sent his favorite to negociate a treaty of peace. He was detained as a hostage for the payment of the sum agreed

upon, but was well treated by the King or Nawab, and on the death of his patron soon after, was allowed to return to Orissa, when he assumed the government, A. D. 1451, under the title of Kapil Indra Deo. His reign is described to have been one continued series of wars, sieges, and expeditions. He visited in person every quarter of his widely extended dominions, but was occupied chiefly to the southward, and resided a good deal at Kimedy and Rajamandry. He also visited the city of Vijianagara (Bidyanagar) and founded there several Sasans, more especially one called Damoderpur Sasan. The Raja afterwards pursued his conquests as far down as Rama's bridge, which the natives call Set Band Rameswara. The subjugation of a fort called Kondajoi or Kondjuri, perhaps Condapilly, and his proceedings there, are much spoken of. He is said to have deposed one Raja, and set up another called Narsinh Rai. Amongst his conquests, places called Maligunda and Malka (Malanca) are likewise mentioned. The particulars of the Raja's wars and expeditions in that distant quarter are, however, so loosely and indistinctly narrated, that it is impossible to make any thing satisfactory out of the account. He died near Condapilly, on the banks of the Kistna, after a busy and distinguished reign of twenty-seven years. The period of his administration was farther remarkable for the occurrence of two dreadful famines which swept off vast numbers of the human race. The price of paddy again rose during them to 125 kahans per bharan.

The chasms and omissions above noticed in the native annals of Orissa, are curiously enough supplied in part by Ferishteh's history of the Bahmini Sovereigns of Kalberga. Up to this period the Musselman kings of the Deccan, engaged in perpetual contests with the ousted Rais of Telingana and the Carnatic, had possessed neither leisure nor inclination to interfere with the affairs of Orissa. The two powers seem first to have come in contact during Kapil Indra Deo's reign; and if the Musselman accounts are correct, disputes between them originated in the aggressions of the Raja of Orissa.

Ferishteh relates, that in the time of Humayun Shah Bahmini, about A. D. 1457, the Telingahs prevailed on the Rajas of Orissa and Uria to afford them assistance against the Mohammedans, who sent a large army to their aid, with many war elephants. The confederates completely defeated the armies of Islam, and pursued them from the field of battle for many miles. Under Nizam Shah, son of the above, the Rai of Orissa in conjunction with the powerful Zemindars or Khetris (Poligars) of Telingana, again invaded the territories of the Deckany sovereigns by way of Rajamandry and plundered as far as *Kolas*.* The Rai of Orissa is said to have advanced in great state and splendour, "*ba shouket tamami*," with the declared intention of conquering the whole of Telingana from the Mussulmans, and compelling them to pay tribute. When he had arrived however within ten miles of the Mohammedan capital Ahmedabad (Beder), the ministers taking courage sent him a message of defiance saying that "their king had long intended to subjugate Orissa and *Jehannagar* and render it tributary, but "the idea of the distance of that country had hitherto deterred him from the "undertaking: however as the Raja had now come so far to throw himself "into the jaws of destruction, much trouble would be saved to the victorious "armies of Islam." This bravado was followed up by a spirited sally of Patan horse, which cooled a little the ardour of the Hindus, and induced them to fall back. They were finally glad to purchase a secure retreat to their own frontier, by paying down a sum of five lacs of tankas.

Ferishteh goes on to state, that in the year 1471 A. D. the Rai of Uria called Himber, complained to King Mohammed Shah that he had been driven from his possessions by an usurper who was supported from Orissa, and offered on condition of obtaining effectual assistance for the recovery of his rights, to become tributary to the Musselman government, and to cede certain forts. It is not easy to satisfy one's self what is meant by this word

* The boldness and enterprize of the Orissan monarchs in those days, may surprize us when we consider the situation of Kolas in the heart of central India, beyond Kalberga and Beder.

Uria, which Ferishteh uses sometimes as the name of a person, and sometimes as that of a district, but from the whole context there seems reason to think that the author intends to designate by the term, the country between Rajamandry and Condapilly,, &c. held probably at that time as a fief or dependency of the Orissan monarchy.

The Bahmini king, who had always wished to obtain a footing on the Godaveri, agreed to Himber's proposal, marched an army into Uria, defeated the usurper Mangal Rai, and restored the principality to his ally, taking for his own share the forts of Rajamandry and Condapilly.

After sometime Rai Uria seems to have repented of his connection with the Mohammedans, and to have become desirous of returning to his old allegiance. One of those destructive famines noticed in my accounts of Raja Kapil Indra Deo's reign, having spread general ruin and consternation throughout the Deccan, the conjuncture appeared to him favorable for making an effort to throw off the Musselman yoke, and he accordingly dispatched a message to the Rai of Orissa (which is fully detailed by Ferishteh) saying that "if he wished to recover his *hereditary dominions* in Telingana, now was the time." The Raja, on receiving this invitation, collected together an army of 10,000 foot and 8,000 horse, and summoning all his tributary chiefs to attend him, proceeded into Telingana without delay. Mohammed Shah hastened to oppose the combined forces of Orissa and Uria, and soon compelled the Rais to retreat across the lake of Rajamandry. He then, says Ferishteh, resolved to punish the idolater for his insolence and aggression, and taking with him a chosen body of 20,000 men, made a dash into Orissa, and penetrated as far as the capital, plundering and laying waste the country on all sides. The Raja unable to withstand the fury of the storm which he had so rashly raised, fled before the invaders, and was soon obliged to sue humbly for peace, which was granted only on condition of his paying down a large sum of gold and silver, and surrendering twenty-five celebrated elephants which he valued next his life. The Musselman prince

then retired, with the same degree of rapidity as he had advanced, to Condapilly, where he humbled his other opponent Rai Uría.

This inroad, which supposing the chronology of the two histories to be correct, must have happened (if at all) towards the close of Raja Kapil Indra Deo's reign, is not noticed in the meagre imperfect sketch of the events of that period, given in the Orissan annals. They make their Raja return however from the Deccan to Pursottem Chatter, about the date in question, when he consults the god as to which of his seven sons, all distinguished for their princely qualities and accomplishments, he should appoint his successor in the Raj. He was instructed to elect Pursottem Rai, though the youngest and born of a concubine. The choice was justified by his superior merit, and as the will of Sri Jeo at all events could not be disputed, the Raja named Pursottem Rai his successor, and took the favored youth with him on his last expedition to the banks of the Kistna, where he died as before stated A. D. 1478.

The Raja elect, having been acknowledged by the army on the Kistna as their sovereign, under the title of Pursottem Deo, returned with what speed he could to Cuttack, where his presence was necessary to counteract the intrigues and opposition of his six brothers, all indignant at their supercession. Their enmity and machinations long disturbed the peace of his Court, but he at last succeeded in expelling them, and they then retired to various quarters, where they built forts and established principalities for themselves.

The reign of Raja Pursottem Deo is rendered memorable by the most striking exploit recorded in the annals of Orissa, viz. the expedition to and conquest of Conjeveram. The circumstances of that transaction deserve to be rescued from oblivion, as well for the curious picture which they afford of the manners and opinions of the age and nation, as from their connection with an historical incident of some importance. The

fullest account of the expedition is to be found in the poem before noticed, called the Kanjikaveri Pot'hi, though as the author has had recourse to the embellishment of a regular epic machinery, the narrative is encumbered by fictitious characters and incidents. It is also much dwelt upon in all the Native histories, which agree in the main points of the relation, with some discrepancies as to the details.

The story runs nearly as follows: "In the country of Dakhin Kanouj Kernát Sásan, there lived a powerful Raja who had a vast fortress and palace built of a fine black stone, called Kanjinagar or Kanjikaveri (Conjeveram) and a daughter so beauteous and accomplished, that she was surnamed Pudmavati or Padmini.* The fame of her charms having reached to the ears of Mahárája Pursottem Deo, he became anxious to espouse her, and sent a messenger accordingly to the Chief of Conjeveram to solicit the hand of his fair daughter. That Raja was well pleased with the prospect of having for his son-in-law so great and powerful a prince as the Gajapati of Orissa, but considered it advisable to make some enquiries regarding the customs and manners of that Court, before consenting to the alliance. He soon found that the Mahárájas were in the habit of performing the duties of a sweeper (Chandal) before the image of Jagannáth, on its being brought forth from the temple annually at the Rat'h Játra. Now the Kanjinagar Raja was a devoted and exclusive worshipper of Sri Ganesh (Ganesa), and had very little respect for Sri Jeo, the divinity of Orissa; and conceiving the above humiliation to be quite unworthy of, and indeed utterly disgraceful to a Khetri of such high rank, he declined the alliance in consequence. The Gajapati monarch became very wroth at the refusal, and swore, that to revenge the slight cast on him, he would obtain the damsel by force and marry her to a real sweeper. He accordingly marched with a large army to attack Conjeveram, but was defeated

* This was the name of a Princess, whose amours with Khosru Perviz, are celebrated in several Indian and Persian Romances, and is in Sanscrit indeed the general name of a particular class of beauties.

and obliged to retire. Overwhelmed with shame and confusion, he now threw himself at the feet of Sri Jeo, and earnestly supplicated his interference to avenge the insult offered to the deity himself in the person of his faithful worshipper. The god promised assistance, says the author of the poem, directed him to assemble another army, and assured him that he would this time take the command of the expedition against Conjeveram in person. When the Raja had arrived, during the progress of his march, at the site of the village now called Manikpatam, he began to grow anxious for some visible indication of the presence of the deity. In the midst of his cogitations on the subject, a milkmaid or gwalin named Manika, came up and displayed a ring which she said had been entrusted to her, to present to the monarch of Orissa, by two handsome Cavaliers, mounted the one on a black, and the other on a white horse, who had just passed on to the southward. She also related some particulars of a conversation* with them which satisfied the Raja that the promise of assistance would be fulfilled, and that these horsemen were no other than the brothers Sri Jeo (Krishna) and Baldeo (Baladeva.) Full of joy and gratitude, he directed the village to be in future called, after his fair informant, Manikpatana, and marched onwards to the Deccan secure of success. On the other hand the chief of Conjeveram, alarmed at the second advance of the Gajapati in great force, appealed for aid to his protecting deity Ganesh, who candidly told him that he had little chance against Jagannáth, but would do his best. The siege was now opened and many obstinate and bloody battles were fought under the walls of the fort. The gods Sri Jeo and Ganesh, espousing warmly the cause of their respective votaries, perform many miracles and mix personally in the engagements, much in the style of the Homeric deities before the walls of Troy ; but the latter is always worsted. In reality, after a long struggle, Conjeveram fell before the armies of Orissa. The Raja escaped, but his beautiful daughter was

* This interview is described at great length in the poem, and the amorous impassioned turn which the dialogue takes between Sri Jeo and the milkmaid, is esteemed one of its chief beauties.

captured and conducted in triumph to Púri. A famous image of Gopal, called the Satbadi (Satya Vadin) Thakúr, that is, the "*truth-speaking god*," was brought off at the same time and set up in a temple ten miles north of Pursottem, where it may still be seen, a monument of the Conjeveram expedition.

I suspect that the tradition mentioned by Orme, vol. ii. book viii. confounds the conquest of Conjeveram above related, with some former expedition into the Carnatic of the more ancient Rajas of Orissa. "The tradition of these countries says, that many centuries before Mahommedanism, a king of Jagannâth, in Orissa, marched to the south with a great army, which subdued not only these provinces, but, crossing the Kistna, conquered in the Carnatic, as far as Conjeveram: these conquests he distributed in many portions to his relations, officers, and menial servants, from whom several of the present northern polygars pretend to be lineally descended, and to govern at this very time the very districts which were then given to their ancestor. All who claim this genealogy, esteem themselves the highest blood of native Indians next to the brahmins, equal to the Rajputs, and support this pre-eminence by the haughtiest observances, insomuch that the breath of a different religion, and even of the meaner Indians, requires ablution," &c. &c.

Conformably with his oath, Raja Pursottem Deo made over the fair Padmavati or Padmini to his chief minister, desiring him to wed her to a sweeper. Both the minister, however, and all the people of Púri commiserated her misfortunes, and at the next Rath Jatra, when the Maharaja began to perform his office of *Chandal* (sweeper), the individual entrusted with charge of the lady brought her forth and presented her to him, saying, "You ordered me to give the Princess to a sweeper; *you* are the sweeper upon whom I bestow her." Moved by the intercession of his subjects, the Raja at last consented to marry Padmavati, and carried her to the palace at Cuttack. The end of this lady's history is as romantic as the preceding por-

tion of it. She is said to have conceived and brought forth a son by Mahadeo, shortly after which she disappeared. All the circumstances were explained to the husband in a dream, who acknowledged gratefully the honor conferred on him, and declared the child thus mysteriously born his successor in the Raj.

Pursottem Deo died after a reign of twenty-five years, and was succeeded by Pertab Janamuni, the son of Padmavati, under the title of Pertab Rúdra Deo, A. D. 1503. The wisdom and learning of this prince soon became the theme and admiration of the whole country. He had studied deeply all the shasters, was very fond of disputing and conversing on points of theology, and introduced many curious constructions of his own, and doctrines which were altogether new. He was withal devout, and built many temples. His skill in the arts of war and civil government, were eminent; in short he was equally celebrated as an able, learned, warlike and religious prince. A very curious anecdote is related of his conduct, which seems to shew that the followers of Buddha continued to form a sect of importance in this part of India until the beginning of the sixteenth century.* It is said that a serious robbery happened in the Raja's palace, and that he being anxious to discover the perpetrators, assembled together all the wise men, both of the Bauddhist and Brahminical persuasion, to obtain their assistance in prosecuting an investigation. The brahmins could tell nothing, but the followers of Buddha, through their knowledge of the occult art, were enabled to point out both the offender and the place where the stolen property was concealed. The Raja was induced by this incident to form so high an opinion of the learning and skill of the Bauddhists, that he became for some time a warm supporter of that sect. His Rani

* As this is contrary to received opinions, to the inferences warranted by the works of Mádhavácháryа in the 13th century and the statement of Abulfazl in the 16th, it seems likely that the original authorities have confounded, as is very commonly the case, the Bauddhas and Jains, and that the latter are here intended.—*Note by the Secretary.*

on the other hand espoused zealously the cause of the brahmins. It was at last determined to make another formal trial of their relative skill as men of science, or rather magicians. Accordingly a snake was secretly put into an earthen jar, the mouth of which being covered up, the vessel was produced in a great assembly at the palace. Both parties were then asked what the jar contained. The brahmins answered, "it contains only earth," and sure enough when opened it was found to contain nothing but earth. This specimen of skill entirely changed the Raja's opinions, and he now became as violent against the Bauddhists as he had been before prejudiced in their favour—so much so that he not only withdrew his protection and countenance, but violently expelled the whole sect from his dominions, and destroyed all their books except the pot'his called the Amer Singh and Bír Singh (Amara Sinha and Vira Sinha). It is added that about this time Chytunya or Chytan Mahaprabhu came from Naddia in Bengal to visit the temple of Jagannáth, and that he performed miracles before the Raja. The key to the whole story is probably to be found in the visit of this celebrated Vyshnavite reformer or sectary, who doubtless had some share in creating the hostile disposition of Raja Pertab Rúdra Deo, towards the followers of the heretical Budha.

Another of those famines which have so often afflicted India, occurred early in this century in Orissa. The Raja who could find leisure for schemes of conquest and ambition amidst his religious enquiries and controversies, marched with his army down to Setu Band Rámeswara, reduced several forts, and took the famous city of Vijayanagara. The Mohammedans of the Deccan also gave abundant occupation to his arms on the southern frontier of the Raj, and whilst he was occupied in repelling or provoking their attacks, the Afghans from Bengal made an inroad into the province in great force. They advanced as far as Cuttack, and pitched their camp in the neighbourhood of the city, when the Governor Anant Singhar finding himself unable to oppose any effectual resistance, took refuge in the strong fortress of Sárangerh, south of the Katjúri. After satiating themselves

with the plunder of the capital, they proceeded towards Púri where they committed dreadful devastations; but the grand object of their search, the Idol or Deo of Orissa, had been removed out of their reach, the priests having taken the precaution, so soon as they heard of the approach of the invaders, to carry off Sri Jeo and the other images in boats across the Chilka in order to conceal them amongst the hills. Raja Pertab Rúdra Deo on receiving intelligence of these disastrous occurrences, hastened back from the Deccan, and performing a journey of months in a few days, he came up with the invading army before they had left the khetr, gave them battle, and destroyed a great number of the Mlecchas (Foreigners and Barbarians). He was however himself so much crippled by the contest, that he was happy to conclude a peace nearly on the enemy's terms, when they retired and left the province to itself.

This Prince died A. D. 1524, having reigned twenty-one years. With the three above remarkable reigns, terminate all the glories of the Ganga Vansa dynasty, and the royal house of Orissa. The race itself became extinct soon after the demise of Raja Pertab Rúdra Deo, and the independence of the country was not destined long to survive. Pressed at both extremities by the vigour and enterprize of the Mohammedan governments of Bengal and Telingana, now in the full maturity of their strength, the downfall of the Orissan monarchy was further hastened by intestine commotions, disunion amongst the chiefs, and a series of bloody and destructive contests for the supreme dignity.

Pertab Rúdra Deo left thirty-two sons. The eldest of these reigned about five years, when he was murdered by the powerful minister Govind Bidyadhar. Another son succeeded, who was murdered at the expiration of a year. The minister then barbarously put to death the whole of the remaining thirty princes of the royal house, by the hands of his own son Madhu Srichander, and having destroyed several other persons of eminence, he thus literally waded up to his neck in blood to the throne, which

he ascended A. D. 1533 under the title of Raja Govind Deo. Two remarkable personages became first generally known during his administration, Mukund Harichandan, the Telinga, who received the government of the town of Cuttack, and Danayek or Danardan Bidyadhar, who, was appointed Prime Minister. The former afterwards became Raja of the country, and was the last of its independent sovereigns; the latter, though not himself a king, was the parent of kings—in other words, he was the ancestor of the third and titular branch of the Gajapatis of Orissa, known in after ages as the Rajas of Khúrda.

The presence of the Raja being required in the Deccan, he resided for eight months at Malgunda or Maligonda with his minister. We may infer from Ferishteh, that the possession of Rajamundry and other places near the Godaveri was about this period much disputed between the Úria princes and the Musselman kings of the Deccan, both the Bahminis, and that branch of their successors who ruled at Golconda under the title of Kutteb Shahis. Ferishteh's account of the latter monarchs contains a passage relating to Orissa which I may here quote. He says, "Hindu "writers observe that there are three countries adjoining each other, the "climates of which resemble each other greatly, and possess much the same "peculiarities, viz. *Teling*, *Beng*, and *Oorek* (Orixa). Teling, is that pos- "sessed by the Kutteb Shahi sovereigns. Beng, is Bengala. Oorek lies be- "tween them. No Musselman prince has ever been able to conquer the "latter, but king Mohammed Kuli Kooteb attacked it and subdued ma- "ny parts. The *Hakim* of that quarter is called Bahabalinder (a common "title, it may be observed, of the feudal chiefs of Orissa, but not of the Ra- "jas);* he fled off to the remotest parts of his country."

The usurper's two nephews, Raghu Bhanj Chotra and Balanki Sri-

* May not this be the original of the Mohammedan Balharas, a term that has puzzled all orientalists. It need not be restricted to this province being a regular Sanscrit compound implying, The Indra (chief) of the mighty, or literally, strong-armed.—*Note by the Secretary.*

chandan, taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by his absence, formed a conspiracy against his authority; they murdered the head Pércha of the temple at Púri, drove Mukund Harichandan from Cuttack, and gained possession of the capital. These occurrences obliged the Raja to return with a large part of his army, and a pitched battle took place between the parties, when the insurgents were defeated and pursued as far as the Ganges. Raja Govind Deo died on the banks of that river at the Das Aswamedh ghat, in the seventh year of his rule.

Pertab Chakra Deo was then placed on the throne by the minister Danaye Bidiadhur, who, after seeing his authority properly established, returned to the Deccan to look after matters in that quarter. Though a weak, oppressive, and tyrannical prince, who carried his excesses so far even as to distress brahmins, he was maintained in the government for about eight years by the influence and support of his minister, and then died suddenly in the temple itself.

There being no heir left of the Rajas of Orissa, a chief named Narsingh Jenna, distinguished for his bravery and conduct, stept into the vacant seat of government. Jealous of the influence of Danaye Bidiadhur, he procured his attendance from the Deccan, and then with the assistance of his rival Mukund Harichandan, threw him into chains and imprisonment at Cuttack. In the mean time Raghu Bhanj Chotra, having recovered from his former defeat, entered Orissa again at the head of a large force to assert his claims to the Raj. He was opposed by Mukund Harichandan, who took him prisoner after many bloody battles.

Narsingh Jenna was deposed at the end of the year, it does not appear by whom, and the reins of government then passed into the hands of the most undoubtedly powerful officer in the province, Mukund Harichandan, the Telinga, who ascended the throne of the Gajapatis, A. D. 1550, under the well known title of Telinga Mukund Deo.

All the native accounts concur in describing their last independent Raja as a man of courage and abilities. He has been honored with a notice in the work of the Jesuit Tieffenthaler, who extends our knowledge of his character by informing us that "the last king of the Orissans was called Mukund, who was very polite to strangers and had four hundred women." The early part of his reign was employed chiefly in constructing monuments of public utility or superstition, as temples, tanks, and brahminical sasans. Amongst other works of the kind, he founded a ghat and temple at the sacred spot called Tribeni, on the Hoogly, north of the town of that name which formed the extreme verge of his dominions, and whilst so occupied, frequent communications are said to have passed between him and the king of Delhi, or rather the officers of the emperor. Soliman Gúrzani, the Afghan king or governor of Bengal, having assembled an army to invade Orissa, the Raja built a strong fortress in some commanding situation, and for this time opposed his endeavours successfully. At last however came Kála Pahar General of the Bengal forces, the destined conqueror of Orissa, with his wonder-working kettle drum, at the sound of which the ears and feet of the idols would drop off for many coss all around. The Hindus say of this dreaded enemy of their images and superstition, that he was originally a brahmin, but lost caste through a contrivance of the princess of Gaura, who was smitten with the manly beauty of his person. He then married her, turned Musselman, and became a relentless persecutor of the adherents of the faith from which he had apostatized. Many dire omens preceded and announced his arrival in the province; amongst others a large stone fell from the summit of the great tower of the temple at Púri, and when he entered the precincts of the khetr, a general darkness overspread the four corners of the land. In short, Kálapahar invaded Orissa on the part of the king or governor of Bengal with an army of Afghan Cavalry, defeated and killed the Raja or drove him from the country, and finally overthrew the independent sovereignty of Orissa, A. D. 1558. Two titular princes were set up after the expulsion of Mukund Deo, who both fell into the hands of the conquerors

and were put to death by them. An anarchy of twenty-one years duration then ensued, during which the Afghan Mohammedans possessed the whole of the open country, and there was no Raja.

The several accounts which have been handed down of Kálapahar's invasion of Orissa, differ widely in the details, though the main facts are well known and established. The story told by the Musselman writers is that, Mukund Deo, apprehending the designs of the king or governor of Bengal, encamped with a large part of his army on the Ganges, but Kálapahar turning his position got a-head of him into Orissa, and began to plunder the country and attack the temples of the Hindus with relentless fury, before any force could be brought to check him. A battle at length took place at Jajipur in which the Raja lost his life. The Afghan chief then went on to Sambhelpur where he was killed by some of the Bhuyans. Others say that on his passing the great temple of the Líng Raj at Bhuvaneswara, a swarm of bees issued from the throne of the idol and stung him to death. The Púri Vynsavali makes the Raja to have been busy in Khúrda when the Afghan army suddenly advanced upon Cuttack, defeated the Governor Gopi Sáwant Sinhar, and plundered the palace and treasury, alarmed at which news, Mukund Deo fled out of the province not daring to oppose so powerful a force, and died shortly after in the king of Delhi's dominions. The relation in Gladwin's Bengal of the Raja building fort Barabati, when he heard of Kálapahar's approach, and going to sleep for many months according to custom, until roused by the alarming sound of the magic kettle drum, is a third version of the story which carries with it its own refutation. All the native writers however agree in speaking with horror of the cruel excesses committed by their Afghan conqueror, and the wide destruction of images and temples occasioned by his unrelenting persecution of the Hindu faith.

The adventures of the great idol form a curious episode in the history of

this important period. According to the Mandala Panji, when the priests at Púri saw the turn which matters were taking, they again for the third time in their annals, hurried away the helpless god in a covered cart, and buried him in a pit at Paríkúd, on the Chilka Lake. Kálapahar was not however to be defrauded of so rich a prize, and having traced out the place of concealment, he dug up Sri Jeo and carried him off on an elephant, as far as the Ganges, after breaking in pieces every image in the Khetr. He then collected a large pile of wood, and setting fire to it, threw the idol on the burning heap, but immediately all his limbs dropped off and he perished miserably. A bystander observed, "this is a punishment for the indignity offered to the Deo of Orissa," and snatching the image from the flames, threw it into the river. The whole proceeding had been watched by Besar Mainti, a faithful votary of Jagannáth, who followed the half burnt image as it floated down the stream, and at last when unperceived, managed to extract from it the sacred part (Brahm or spirit in the original), and brought it back secretly to Orissa, where it was carefully deposited in charge of the Khandait of Kujang.

It appears from Ferishteh, that the Afghans under Daood Khan, the son of Soloman Karsáni (or Gurzáni), were allowed to retain possession of Orissa for some time after the overthrow of the native government; but having drawn down upon themselves the vengeance of the Emperor Akber by their turbulence and violent proceedings, they were several times attacked, first by Monaim Khan and afterwards by Khan Jehan, who wrested their new acquisition from them about 1573 A. D. and annexed it to the rent roll of the empire. Ferishteh in this place calls the province Orissa, and Katak, Benares.

The Uria historians go on to relate, that, at the expiration of the twenty-one years of anarchy and interregnum, the ministers and principal men of the country beginning to recover from their depression and alarm, assembled together to consult about the affairs of the nation, and chose as

their chief a person named Ranai Raotra, son of the before mentioned minister Danaye Bidyadhar, whom they raised to the rank and dignity of Maharaja of Orissa, A. D. 1580, under the title of Ramchander Deo. With him begins the third and titular race of Sovereigns called the Bhoi Vansa, or Zemindari race. The election was confirmed by Sewai Jye Sinh, the general of the Emperor Akber, who came into the province about the time, with his army, to look after the Imperial interests. The sight of Bhuvaneswara, its numerous temples, the crowds of brahmins, and the sacred character of every thing in Utcala Desa, is said to have impressed him with feelings of so much reverence and admiration for the country, that he determined to interfere very little in its affairs, and retired shortly afterwards, leaving a large share of authority in the hands of its Native Princes. The town of Midnapore was at this time made the northern boundary of Orissa.

Raja Ramchander Deo's first care was to recover the sacred relics belonging to the old image of Jagannáth, which duty being accomplished with the assistance of their preserver Besar Mainti, the *Dáru Múrat*, or image made of the wood of the Nim tree, was fabricated according to the rules of the shaster, and again set up in the temple, on a propitious day, with much pomp and solemnity. The worship of Sri Jeo was now fully restored, all the feasts and endowments of the temple put on their old footing, and a number of sásans were founded in honor of the memorable event. It was disturbed again however almost immediately afterwards, by an invasion of Musselmans from Golconda, whose king or *Adipati*, as the Hindu writers call him, seems to have given the Raja a severe defeat.

In 1582 A. D. the celebrated Dewan of the empire, Raja Toder, or as the Urias call him Toral Mall, visited the province, to superintend the introduction of his settlement called the Taksim Jamma and Tankha Raqmi. He proceeded no further with it, apparently, than the three Sircars of Jelasore, Badrak, and C[illegible]k. All the account which is preserved

of that important and memorable transaction, is, that from the time of Toral Mall's visit to the province, the measurement by the Bareh Dasti Padika or rod of twelve spans, was introduced. He is said to have treated the Raja with much respect, and to have admired greatly the temple and image of Jagannáth, but his proceedings must have been fatal to the power and authority of the Gajapati prince, as he seems to have annexed nearly the whole of his domains to the imperial rent-roll.

The Mogul arrangements for the management of the new Suba of Orissa, did not receive their final completion until A. D. 1592 or 999 Amli, when Raja Mán Sinh, the imperial Lieutenant in Bengal, came to assume charge of the administration. His expedition was prompted, partly by the view to expel the Afghans, who under Kattali Khan had again taken possession of a large part of the province, and committed every where the most frightful ravages and excesses, and partly to settle disputes which had arisen between Ramchander Deo the titular Raja, and the two sons of Telinga Mukund Deo, of whom the eldest was named Ramchander Rai, and the second Chaki or Chakowri Bhowerber. The fate of Kattali Khan and his Afghans, may be read in Major Stewart's history of Bengal. With respect to the native princes, Raja Mán Sinh finding that disputes ran high for possession of the Raj, and that both parties had powerful supporters amongst the Khandaits or Military Zemindars, it was judged expedient to make a division amongst them of the remnant left to the royal house of Orissa of the territories of their ancestors. Accordingly Khúrda, with Púrsottem Chetter, and certain Mehals, were assigned in Zemindari tenure, free of all tribute, to Ramchander Deo, with the title of Maha Raja, and the Musselman dignity of the commandership of three thousand five hundred. He was also allowed to exercise the chiefship or sovereignty over, and to collect tribute from, 129 of the killahs or jurisdictions of the Khetris of Orissa, including all the present Cuttack tributary Mehals south of the Mahánadi, and the states of Gúmser, Moherry, &c. reaching as far as the borders of Kimedy and Ganjam. Killah Ál, with

its dependencies, was assigned as a Zemindari to Ramchander, the eldest son of Telinga Mukund Deo, and Sarengerh on the same tenure to the second son Chakouri Bhowerber. Both were acknowledged as Rajas, and had the controul of a number of the Killahjat estates in different parts of the district. These arrangements have been already adverted to more in detail, in that portion of my paper which is designed to furnish some account of the land tenures and political institutions of Orissa.

The title of sovereignty has been always acknowledged by the general voice and feeling of the country, to vest in the Rajas of Khúrda, though disputed formerly by the other branches of the royal house who have now sunk into entire insignificance. The former received by far the largest and most valuable portion of the country, in Mán Sinh's allotment, and the cession of Púri alone was a sufficient acknowledgment of their superior claims. Down to the present moment, the Rajas of Khúrda are the sole fountain of honour in this district, and all deeds whatever drawn out in the *Úria* language, bear the date of the *Ank* or accession of the reigning prince of that house, and are prefaced with a recital of his titles, which run precisely in the style adopted many centuries ago by the great Raja Anang Bhim Deo.

Ramchander Deo enjoyed his station and dignities for twenty-nine years. He was an able and respectable prince, and his memory seems to be much venerated by the natives of the province. From his time, the field embraced by the Orissan annals, becomes greatly narrowed, though they still afford a vast deal of curious local information. The necessary limits of an essay of this kind confine me to an exhibition of 1st. A list of the names of the several Rajas and the duration of their reigns, and 2nd, a brief outline of such part of their history, as has any connection with the general affairs of the *Subah* of Orissa. The materials for an historical account of the country, under this new denomination, are very scanty and imperfect. The slender information extant of the proceedings of the Mogul offi-

cers from the retirement of Raja Mán Sinh in A. D. 1604, to the dewanship of the famous Nuwab Jaffer Khan Nasirí (A. D. 1707 to 1725), has to be gleaned from a few scattered notices in Persian histories of Bengal and scarcely intelligible revenue accounts; though the century in question must be regarded as a most important period in the annals of the country, when we consider the deep and permanent traces impressed on the state of affairs, by the arrangements, institutions, offices, and official designations, introduced by the imperial government during that interval. Subsequent to the elevation of Jaffer Khan, we meet with tolerably full and detailed journals and records both of the Mohammedan and Marhatta administrations, composed in the Persian language.

List of Khúrda Rajas.

Ramchander Deo, succeeds	A. D. 1580
Pursottem Deo,	1609
Narsinh Deo,	1630
Gangadhar Deo,	1655
Balbhadder Deo,	1656
Mukund Deo,	1664
Dirb Sinh Deo,	1692
Kishen or Harikishen Deo,	1715
Gopinath Deo,	1720
Ramchander Deo,	1727
Bír Kishore Deo,	1743
Dirb Sinh Deo,	1786
Mukund Deo,	1798

The southern part of Orissa Proper must have suffered much from the constant wars, insurrections, and internal commotions, that prevailed during the early times of the Musselman government. The Moguls seem to have been actuated by peculiar rancour and ill will towards Jagannáth, and lost no opportunity of annoying and disturbing the Hindus in the per-

formance of their devotions at his temple. To say nothing of other fruitful sources of jealousy and animosity, this interference alone was sufficient to produce many bloody encounters between the two nations, in which success was often doubtful. On the whole however, the native Princes suffered the most severely, and gradually sank before the superior energy and civilization of the Moguls. The Rajas had at first established their residence at Pipley; afterwards they retired to Rathipur; and finally built their fort and palace in a naturally difficult part of Khúrda, where they were found settled in 1803. During these contests in and about Púri, the images so much venerated by the one party and abhorred by the other, were twice or thrice carried away across the Chilka Lake, and concealed amidst the hills, until the times appeared favorable for again setting them upon their thrones in the temple. This religious warfare was at last set at rest by the institution of the tax on pilgrims, which if we may credit the author of the work translated by Gladwin, under the title of History of Bengal, yielded to the Mogul government a revenue of nine lacs. Under such circumstances, religious antipathies however strong on the part of the ruling power, must have yielded gradually to considerations of self-interest.

The Afghans did not disappear from the field as disturbers of the peace of Cuttack, until 1611 A. D. when having again risen under Osman Khan the son of Kattali, they were defeated with great slaughter on the Subanrekha by Shujáat Khan from Bengal, and compelled finally to submit. They then settled peaceably in many of the principal villages of the district, and their descendants at this day form no inconsiderable Musselman population, under the general denomination of Pathans.

On the side of Rajwára, the Rajas had to maintain many fierce contests with the Khetri chiefs or zemindars subordinate to them, who became turbulent and unruly in proportion as the power and consequence of the chief of their class declined. Frequently, no doubt, a spirit of aggrandizement urged the Rajas to become the aggressors. Of the operation of either one

or both causes of hostility, we may trace abundant proofs, in the dismemberment of many of the old Khandaitis recorded in the accounts of Raja Mán Sinh's settlement, which became afterwards annexed to Khúrda.

The state of the country is represented in no favorable light during the administration of the famous Jaffer Khan Nasirí, whose arrangements moreover could not have tended much to improve it. In Gladwin's history of Bengal it is mentioned that Jaffer Khan whilst Dewan represented to the Court of Delhi, "the advantages that would accrue to the crown by transferring the Jagírs of the Mansabdars of Bengal to Orissa, where the lands are of less value, and the collections made with greater expense and difficulty." It is added that, the Emperor approving the scheme, assignments were granted upon Orissa, the *cultivation* of which province *had of late been very much neglected*, in lieu of the Bengal Jagírs.

The administration of Mohammed Taki Khan, the Naib, (1725 to 1735, A. D.) on the part of Shujâa ad Dín Mohammed, Nazim of the three provinces, is marked by a great reduction of the limits of the province of Orissa. In his time the remainder of the old Jelasore Sircar* lying between Tumlook, Midnapore, and the Subanreka, with the exception of a few small pergunnahs near the latter river, was annexed to Bengal, and the Nizam's government obtained possession either by force or intrigue of the entire country included between the estates called Tikally† Raghunáthpur, and the Chilka lake, thus greatly reducing the revenues and authority of the Rajas of Khúrda, whose controul had before extended on the hill side, from Gúmser to within forty miles of Cicacole. A war occurred between this governor, and the Raja Ramchander Deo of Khúrda, which was terminated after a long struggle by the capture of the latter and his imprisonment in Cuttack. Temporary possession was taken of Khúrda

* This sircar had been divided in Shah Jehan's reign into the four following subdivisions as already noticed, viz. Goalpareh, Maljhettia, Mazkúrí, and Jelasir.

† Forty-three miles N. E. of Cicacole.

by the Musselmans, who established twenty-two thanehs from Banpur to Balwanta to repress the turbulent spirit of its rude inhabitants, but these were removed by order from Court, on the death of Ramchander, and the succession of Raja Bír Kishore Deo.

During Murshed Kuli Khan's government, the tranquillity of the country was disturbed by the wars of that person with the famous Aliverdi Khan, after his usurpation of the government of Bengal. Raja Bír Kishore Deo espoused the cause of the local governor, and by his assistance, enabled Baker Khan, the son-in-law of the latter, to continue the dispute for some time.

But the greatest of all their calamities was now impending over the unfortunate Orissans. After some alarming demonstrations in the year preceding, the Berar Marhattas suddenly made their appearance in the province, in Phalgun 1150 Amli, in large force under Bháskar Pundit, Ali Shah, and other sirdars, with the professed object of demanding the Chout. There being no force in the province adequate to oppose them, they swept the whole country up to the walls of fort Barabattí, plundering whatever they could lay their hands on without mercy,—and the same scenes were repeated the year following, by a still larger army under Ragoji Bhonsla himself, and the famous adventurer Habíb Ullah. Aliverdi Khan made astonishing efforts to relieve the province, as well as to protect the adjoining districts from these destructive inroads, but the people of Midnapore and Cuttack enjoyed little respite from the Marhatta incursions and depredations until 1157, when a temporary arrangement was patched up between the Nazim and the Bhonsla, by which the former agreed to pay twenty-four lacs (including arrears) as the Chout of the three provinces. The conditions of the treaty being very indifferently observed on the part of the Bengal government, a fresh army invaded Orissa in 1160, under the command of Raja Janoji Bhonsla and Mír Habíb Ullah, who in the same year, in their camp at Choudwar, near the Mahánadi,

A. D. 1743.

projected and arranged a partition of the province between themselves, for the maintenance of their respective armies. Its resources on this occasion were estimated at only ten lacs. The northern portion from Pattaspur to Barrunwa, yielding six lacs, was assigned for the support of the Afghan troops, and the southern from Barrunwa to Malúd, rated at four lacs, was to be held by the Marhattas. On the treacherous murder of Habíb Ullah Khan shortly afterwards in his camp at Garpedda, near Balasore, Raja Janoji became master of the whole province from Pergunnah Pattaspur to the Thaneh of Malúd. His arrangement was, to allot the whole of the lands yielding revenue, as Mukaseh, for the support of his army, one Mehal being made over to the management of each sirdar. Things remained in this miserable state till 1161, when a fresh treaty was entered into, between the Marhattas and Aliverdi Khan, at the instigation of the whole body of the Zemindars of Midnapore and neighbouring districts, who, worn out by the repeated incursions of the Berar Marhattas, offered to pay any sum, in addition to the Tashkhís Mokerreri or fixed revenue of Bengal, which might be agreed to as a composition for the Chout Sir Des Múkhí. Masalih ad Dín was in consequence dispatched by the Court of Moorshedabad to Nagpore, with full powers to treat, and the following arrangements were determined on, "The Chout of the three Subas was now settled at 12,00,000 annually. The Suba of Orissa from Pergunnah Pattaspur to Malúd to be managed by a Subadar appointed from Bengal, who should yearly pay the surplus revenue of that province, estimated at four lacs, to an agent of the Bhonsla stationed at Cuttack. The remaining eight lacs were to be made good from Moorshedabad, Patna, &c. by Húndis or Bills of Exchange. The Marhatta armies forthwith to evacuate the province." On the conclusion of the treaty, Raja Janoji quitted Orissa, Mohammed Masalih ad Dín received the appointment of Naib Subadar, and Sheo Bhat Santra, an eminent Gosain merchant, was named the agent for the Court of Berar to receive the four lacs from Cuttack, and to look after the annual remittance of the balance of the Chout from Moorshedabad.

Masalih ad Dín laboured honestly and zealously to discharge the obligations into which he had entered, and paid the four lacs for two years to the Nagpore agent, but at the end of that period he solicited permission to relinquish the government, stating forcibly his inability any longer to fulfil his engagements, owing to the declining resources of the country, and still more to the turbulent and unmanageable character of the Khandaits, or Military Zemindars of Orissa, who could be kept in no sort of subjection without the constant employment of a very large army in the field, the expense of maintaining which, engrossed the whole revenues. His statements so fully convinced his master of the impolicy of any longer retaining Cuttack, burthened with the condition of paying four lacs annually from its revenues, that a proposal was tendered to the Raja of Nagpore, to undertake the management of the country through officers of his own appointment, in lieu of the stipulated payment, which being agreed to, the Suba of Cuttack, fell from that date under the sole undisputed government of the Berar Marhattas, A. D. 1755-6.

The administration of the Marhattas in Cuttack, was, as in every other part of their foreign conquests, fatal to the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country, and exhibits a picture of misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity, and violence combined, which makes one wonder how society can have been kept together under so calamitous a tyranny. All the head offices of the district, as those of Subadar, Dewan, and the Killadarship of fort Barabattí, were openly bought and sold at Nagpore. It frequently happened that appointments were given to two or three persons at the same time, and still oftener the individuals in charge refused to retire under various pretexts. The different claimants, assembling their followers, would fight the most obstinate battles, and lay waste the country with their dissensions, before the right to succeed was settled. Pressed by the urgent irregular demands of the Court of Nagpore for remittances, and by the necessity of reimbursing themselves for the expen-

ces incurred in obtaining office, the most ruinous shifts and expedients were perpetually resorted to, to wring a higher revenue from the lands, whilst their resources declined in proportion to the tyranny exercised over the cultivators. Notwithstanding that large military bodies were posted all over the district, the Marhattas were quite unable to retain the Khandaits and their paiks in any sort of order. Those of the sea shore and the hills, not only laid the whole of the pergunnahs bordering upon them under regular contribution, but frequently the Paiks of several small killahs, combining together, advanced into the heart of the district, and committed the most ruinous depredations up to the very walls of Cuttack. Every year regularly after the Dassera, the Marhatta armies took the field under the Subadar in person, and advanced into some part of the Rajwára, to chastise some insolence, or to enforce the demand for tribute. When successful, the most sanguinary punishments and destructive ravages were inflicted,—but they were frequently defeated, and their weakness exposed, by the Paiks of killahs which now scarcely retain a name. Besides, the continued marches and countermarches of a licentious disorderly Marhatta soldiery, in every direction across the province, were in themselves evils of no trifling magnitude. Matters improved a little towards the close of the Marhatta period, during the long administration of Raja Ram Pundit; but if the ryots were in a small degree better protected by his measures, he reduced, to the lowest stage of poverty and degradation, a powerful and important class, the hereditary Talúkdars (now Zemindars) of the Mogulbandi, who were ejected by him, very generally, from the management of their Talúks, and left with scarcely even the means of subsistence.

As it would be impossible to render interesting to the general reader, the never varying detail of oppression, mismanagement, and suffering displayed by the Marhatta annals, I shall content myself, in my account of this fourth stage of Orissan history, with a brief enumeration of the successive Subadars who obtained authority, as far as any can be made out amidst

the perpetual conflicts for power which disturbed the peace of the country, and with noticing a few events of general importance which mark that period.

The first and most energetic of the Marhatta Subadars, was Sheo. Bhat Santia, who exercised a disputed and precarious authority for a period of about eight years from 1163 to 1171, and may be said to have been in full possession of the powers of government for about half that period. He made a settlement of the revenues of the province, nominally at 18,00,000 of Arcot Rupees, of which 14,00,000 were entered as regular land revenue (Bandobasti Mulk,) and the remaining 4,00,000 as imposts under various heads. During his administration, a farther dismemberment took place of the territories of the Maharajas of Khúrda. In 1167 Amli, Narain Deo, the famous Zemindar of Kimedy,* a descendant of the royal family of Orissa, who had before asserted his preferable title to the Khúrda Raj, invaded that district by way of Banpur, with the avowed intention of taking possession of it, and drove the reigning prince Bír Kishore Deo before him. Unable to resist his powerful rival, the latter was thrown upon the dangerous expedient of claiming the assistance of the Marhattas, which was granted on condition of the payment of a large sum, to defray all expenses, in return. The aid of the Subadar proved effectual in clearing Khúrda of the pretender's army, but the Raja being unable to discharge the money bargained for, he was obliged to mortgage or surrender temporarily for its liquidation, the best portion of his dominions, viz. the Mehâls, Limbai, Raheng, Pursottem Chatter, &c.—in short, the whole country lying between the Dya river, the lake and the sea, with the tribute of the fourteen Rajas or Khandaits of the hills, still subject to his controul. The Marhattas were allowed to appoint their own Amils, and having thus gained a footing in the

* Mr. Grant in his Political Essay in the Northern Sircars says of this person: "Kimedy, fifty miles N. E. by N. from the town of Cicacole, is the capital of another tributary but more accessible dependent principality vested in a Raja of the royal family of Orissa who actually bears the titular designation of that ancient house under the proper name of Gujipati Deo, through the refractory imprudence of Narain Deo, father of the present occupant, in opposing the Company's authority."

tracts in question, they never afterwards relinquished possession. The benefit of the acquisition seems doubtful, as the usurpation of Raheng, &c. involved them in a state of unceasing hostility with the Khúrda Rajas, and the claim to levy the tribute of Rajwára brought them yearly into disputes and battles with the hill chiefs, in which, to say nothing of the expenditure of blood and treasure, they were nearly as often worsted as they were successful.

At the end of 1171 Amli, Sheo Bhat was violently expelled from his government, by a powerful faction countenanced by the Court of Nagpore. Chimna Sáhu and Udi Púra Gosain then exercised the powers of government for a short time, until Bhawáni Kalúa Pundit arrived in the province, with the senned or appointment of Subadar. The Ex-Subadar was not however of a character to relinquish his authority, without an obstinate struggle. He formed a powerful party amongst the Paiks of the eastern Rajwára, and for a length of time, disturbed the administration of his successor by frequent contests and inroads. The Paiks of other killahs espoused the opposite side. Troops were poured in from all quarters to quell these ryots, and the frequent marches and countermarches of the armies of the government are credibly enough stated to have involved more serious evils to the whole of the fine Pergunnahs Hariharpur, Khandi, Jhanker, Deogaon, &c. than the disturbances they were sent to repress. Amidst all these troubles the excesses of the Kújeng, Kanka, and Rynto Paiks were ever conspicuous. The ferment excited amongst the Military Zemindars of Orissa and their adherents by these events, did not subside until many years afterwards. It does not appear how the career of their author and instigator finally terminated. Mr. La Motte gives the following brief comparative sketch of the character of the administrations of the rival Governors: "Sheo Bhut plundered only his neighbours, but Bhawáni Pundit committed depredations on his subjects and all parties alike."

Bhawáni Pundit was recalled about 1175 Amli, and Sambha Ji Ganesh

appointed his successor. The settlement made by him is remembered, with bitterness, for its severity and harshness. He imposed many new cesses on the ryots, and exercised unusual rigour in scrutinizing and resuming lands held in Jagír, or free of rent, as the ayma, milk, kharidgi, mouajib, dagrai, &c. Those holders who were permitted to remain in possession, were obliged to contribute to the necessities of the state, and were made over for a given number of years in Tenkhah or assignment to different detachments of troops.

After two years, a Mahájan, named Baba Jí Naik, received the appointment of Subadar, but his powers were disputed by the party in possession, and it was not till 1178 Amli, that he became firmly fixed in his seat. The district of Cuttack suffered grievously from the memorable famine, which desolated the lower provinces in 1769-70. Rice was not to be had for two sers per rupee, and many thousands of souls perished. To add to the general distress, an alarming mutiny broke out amongst the troops, which was not quelled for many months.

On the accession of Sabaji Bhonsla to the Mesned of Nagpore, Madhaji Hari was sent into Cuttack as governor. He threw his predecessor into confinement, and was occupied with arrangements for increasing the revenue of the country, when the accession of Madhaji Bhonsla occasioned a fresh change of administration. Baba Jí Naik once more received the senned of Subadari in 1182, and stepped from a jail to the highest rank in the province. After much intrigue and opposition however, the order for his appointment was recalled, and Madha Jí was allowed to remain in office. In 1183 another dreadful scarcity of grain was experienced in Cuttack. Rice was hardly to be purchased in the bazar of Cuttack at [illegible] pans the katki ser. In the mofussil, paddy rose as high as twelve pans per gún—Kulti to 12-2 and Mandova 1-4. Its destructive effects are most strikingly evinced, by the recorded fact, that a remission of seven lacs was granted in the revenues of that year.

Raja Ram Pundit, who had for many years filled the office of Deputy to the local governor, and had taken a leading part in all the arrangements for the management of the interior, succeeded to the office of Subadar, about 1185 or 1186. His personal qualities and abilities were respectable, and, coupled with his extensive local knowledge, lent a character of dignity and stability to his administration, with which no preceding one had been invested. The chief measure ascribed to him, is that of setting aside all the hereditary Chowdris and (Vilaity) Canungos, in other words the Talúkdars of the Mogulbandi, and collecting the revenues through officers of his own appointing, either from the ryots direct, or through the agency of the head men of villages, where such existed. He was also the first governor who imposed a tribute on the Maharajas of Khúrda. Raja Bír Kishore Deo, after a long reign of forty-one years, fell into a state of furious insanity, and committed such frightful excesses, even to the extent of murdering four of his own children, that a general outcry was raised against him throughout the country. The Marhattas did not neglect so favorable an opportunity of interfering. They secured the Raja's person, threw him into confinement in fort Barabattí, and refused to acknowledge his grandson Dirb Sinh Deo as successor, until they had obliged him to agree to the payment of a yearly tribute of Sa. Rs. 10,000. The expense of collecting this, must have been far greater than its value, for the Raja would never pay until compelled by the presence of a military force, and so low had the character and efficiency of the Marhatta Infantry sunk, that the Paiks of Khúrda often presumed to measure their strength with them, even in these last days of the power of the Rajas of Orissa.

Chimna Ji Bapú's visit to Cuttack, with a large army in 1761, A. D. is described as intended to enforce the claims of the Berar government against Bengal for arrears of Chout. Having cantooned his force at Kakkar, opposite to Cuttack, he sent on Raja Ram Pundit with Bissembher Pundit Vakil to Calcutta, who is said to have negotiated a treaty with Mr. Hastings, by which the English government agreed to the payment of 27,00,000 Rs. on condition of all farther claims being relinquished,

On the retirement of Raja Ram Pundit in 1200 Amli, his son Sadasheo Rao was appointed Nazim, and after him Chimna Bala. Affairs however were managed chiefly by Inkaji Súkdeo, the Pher Nanís, and Bala Ji Kunwar, the commander of fort Barabatṭi, and principal military officer. In this state things were found in 1803, when the province was conquered by the English armies. The dominion of the Khurda Rajas was not finally extinguished till 1804, when a most unprovoked rising against the newly established English government, drew down upon Raja Mukund Deo the vengeance of the British power. He was driven from his fort, seized, sent a prisoner to Midnapore, and his remaining territory of Khurda was brought under the management of the British collectors. Since that period the proud but insignificant representatives of the Maharajas of Orissa, have been officially acknowledged only as private landholders; but the liberal policy of government has conferred on them a sufficient pension, and an office of authority connected with the temple, in the enjoyment of which they pass their days in tranquil and honorable retirement, within the sacred limits of Jagannáth Púri.

PART III.

Religion, Antiquities, Temples, and Civil Architecture.

UTCALA DESA which is believed or fabled to be itself so holy a region throughout its entire extent, contains four places of pilgrimage of peculiar sanctity called the Hara Khetr, the Vishnu or Pursottem Khetr, the Arka or Padma Khetr, and the Vijayí or Parvatí Khetr, within the limits of which will be found nearly all that is curious and interesting in the Religious Antiquities of the province.

The Hara khetr, sacred to Mahádeo under the titles of the Linga Raja Bhuvanéswara, and thence called by the vulgar Bhobanéser, contains several very ancient and remarkable monuments of the native princes of the country, and their system of religious belief.

At Balwanta, on the new road, sixteen miles from Cuttack, the attention of the traveller is attracted by a lofty massive tower of stone, rising from amidst the thickets which skirt the adjoining frontier of Khurda. A path leads through the woods towards this object of curiosity, and conducts, at the end of about six miles, to a gently swelling rocky elevation or Tangi formed of beds of the iron clay, on reaching which you find yourself, with astonishment, in the centre of a ruined city, consisting entirely of deserted and dismantled towers and temples sacred to the worship of Mahádeo, under the innumerable titles, which absurd legends or the fancy of his votaries have assigned to that deity. From amidst the whole, the great Pagoda of the Ling Raj, or Lord of the Lingam, lifts its singular form, eminently conspicuous both for size, loftiness, and the superior style of its architecture.

Bhobanéser was the site of a capital city founded by Raja Lalat Indra Kesari the third of the princes bearing that surname, who reigned from A. D. 617 to A. D. 660. If we are to judge of its extent and populousness, during the period that it formed the seat of government of the Rajas of the Kesari Vansa, from the almost countless multitude of temples which are crowded within the sacred limits of the Panj Kosi, we might pronounce it to have been, in the days of its splendour, one of the greatest cities which India ever saw. Standing near the chief Pagoda,* one cannot turn the eye, in any direction, without taking into the view upwards of forty

* Mr. Ward mentions it in his work on the Hindus under the name of Ekamrakanuna, "a place, he says, on the borders of Orissa, containing Six Thousand temples dedicated to Shiva." Ekamra or Ekamber is the name given to the surrounding woods.

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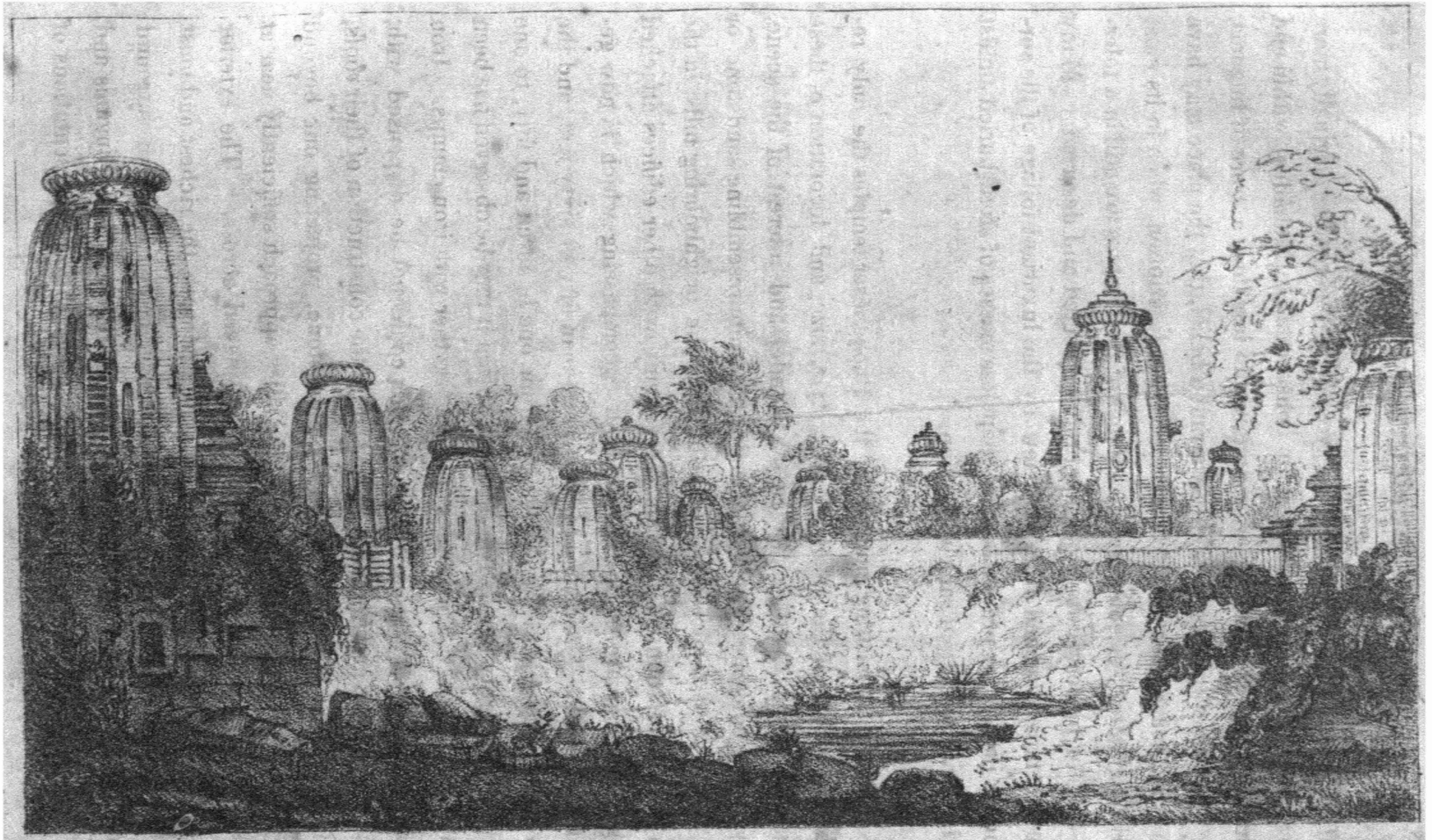

Great Pagoda at Bhobanesir in Cuttack and other adjoining Temples

Copied by E. Billon and Printed at the A.L. Press from an Original Drawing by J. Sterling Esq.r for the Asiatic Researches

or fifty of these stone towers. The natives say that there were originally more than seven thousand places of worship consecrated to Mahádeo, within and around the city of Bhobanéser, containing no less than a crore of lingams, and the vestiges that remain, fully warrant a belief, that the place may have comprized some *hundreds* of buildings of this description, when in its most flourishing state. A considerable number of the temples are still in a tolerable state of preservation, though entirely neglected and deserted. Many more are now screened from the view by the luxuriant foliage of the surrounding jungles, or present merely shapeless masses of stone buried amidst tangled brushwood and rank vegetation.

Nor is the astonishing number of the Bhobanéser temples the only remarkable feature of the place. The style, size, and decoration of these singular buildings, add greatly to the [illegible] and interest of the scene. They are all constructed, either of [illegible]mbling sandstone, or else of the free stone yielded pl[illegible]aring hills, in the form of towers rounded toward[illegible]r edifices attached rising from a square enclosur[illegible]ng which is now generally in ruins. Their hei[illegible]y or sixty feet, and the loftier towers reach to a[illegible]undred and fifty, to one hundred and eighty feet. [illegible]t may be observed has been used throughout. The stones [illegible]ther with iron clamps. Iron beams and pillars are used where such [illegible] could not be dispensed with, but in general the architects have resorted, in the construction of their roofs, to the method of laying horizontal layers of stone, projecting one beyond the other like inverted steps, until the sides approach sufficiently near at the summit to admit of other blocks being placed across. The exterior surface of the buildings is in general adorned with the richest and most elaborate sculptured ornament, and the ruined courts which surround them, are strewed with a vast variety of curious relics, as bulls, lingams and other symbols appropriate to the worship of Mahádeo, representations of

Ganésá, Hanumán, and various forms of Siva and Parvatí, Durgá, or Kali, Carticeya the god of war with his peacock, the female or energy of the same called Caumárí, and the Narasinha and Báman Avatars. The more finished temples have frequently large well polished slabs of the grey chlorite slate, or pot stone, let into three of their sides, on which are sculptured, in alto relievo, nearly as large as life, some of the above personages, executed with no mean degree of skill and symmetry. Carved in the coarser stone of which the walls are constructed, one observes figures of Apsarasas or dancing nymphs in groups or solitary; forms of Mahádeo and Parvatí sitting or standing together, generally in the most obscene attitudes; representations of warriors, horses, and elephants, engaged in combat or arranged in state processions: monsters resembling lions, with grim grotesque countenances, in various attitudes; and groups of a peaceful character exhibiting a Muni, or philosopher, imparting instruction to his pupils. The architrave of the door-way of every temple in Orissa is ornamented with the nine figures in a sitting posture, called the Nava Graha or nine planets, of which seven represent the divinities presiding over the days of the week, and the two remaining ones the brahminical ascending and descending nodes, Ráhu and Ketu.

The forms and character of all the principal temples at Bhobunéser, and indeed throughout the province, being exactly similar, a more particular account of the plan and distribution of the great Pagoda will answer the purpose of a general description. The edifices which compose it, stand within a square area, enclosed by a substantial wall of stone, measuring six hundred feet on a side; which has its principal gateway guarded by two monstrous griffins, or winged lions, in a sitting posture, on the eastern face. About the centre, the great tower, Bara Dewal, or sanctuary, in which the images are always lodged, rises majestically to a height of one hundred and eighty feet. It is composed of a cluster of stone ribs, alternately flat and semicircular, eight principal and eight inferior ones, springing from a square ground plan, which towards the summit curve inwards, without,

however, meeting. They bear, as it were on their shoulders, a cylindrical neck, and this, with the aid of brackets in the form of eight immense griffins or lions, supports the ornamented crest or head piece, shaped somewhat like a turban, which forms so distinguishing a feature in the temple architecture of Orissa. It consists of a huge solid circular slab, called the Amla Sila, from some fancied resemblance to the fruit of the Amlika (Phyllanthus Emblica), on which rests another circular ornament, in the form of a large inverted earthen dish, and thence indeed called the "*Dihi Bandhi*." Sometimes the two ornaments are repeated. On the summit stands, either an urn, or the Chakra of Vishnu, according to circumstances, surmounted by an iron spike, to which pendants are attached on occasions of ceremony. The best illustration that can be given, of the shape and appearance of the generality of these towers, is to compare them to a medicine phial or comfit bottle with the stopper inserted, though the comparison does not do justice to the picturesque effect of the grand and massive building which I am now describing. From each face of the sanctuary, at different degrees of elevation, a huge monster projects to a distance of several feet, which has the body of a lion, but a most grotesque and unnatural countenance, resembling nothing in the catalogue of terrestrial animals. The figure on the eastern face is by far the largest, and it has between its feet, an elephant of comparatively diminutive size, on which it is trampling. This, it may be observed, is the common mode of representing the lion of Hindu mythology, one of the epithets of which is, Gaja Machula, or the destroyer of the elephant. The entrance to the tower lies through a large square vestibule or antichamber, crowned with a pyramidal roof, and surmounted by the crest or series of ornaments above described, which joins on to the eastern face of the sanctuary, and rises to about three-fourths of its height. It is called the Jagamohana, or that which delights the world, because it is from thence that the idol is generally seen and worshipped by pilgrims. These two buildings form the essential and most sacred part of the temples of Orissa. Farther in advance of the Jagamohana, and connected with it by a sort of colonnade, is another square edifice of precisely the same

form, but smaller dimensions, which is called the Bhag Mandap, or apartment in which the idol's food is served up, and afterwards distributed amongst the officiating priests, &c. The Court of the Ling Raj contains many other towers and temples apart from those already enumerated, in which a variety of the inferior deities, or less esteemed forms of the greater ones, are worshipped, and which add, by their style and number, to the general grandeur of its appearance, but do not need a separate description. The whole are adorned with a profusion of sculptured work, consisting of elaborately wrought cornices, beadings, arabesque and reticulated ornaments, and clusters of pilasters, with figures of men, animals, serpents and flowers intervening, arranged in such an infinite variety of devices, that the eye is absolutely bewildered in endeavouring to trace out any particular pattern or design. Amongst the ornaments on the great flat central ribs of the Bara Dewal, there is one peculiarly remarkable from its resemblance to some armorial, bearing or heraldic device. Mr. Erskine, I observe, has given the figure of a strikingly similar ornament in his account of the cave temples of Elephanta, vide Bombay Transactions, vol. i. page 217, and plate vi. The brahmins explain it to be a compound of the Gadá, Padma, Sankh, and Chakra, or Mace, lotus, conch-shell and discus of Vishnu, and it would seem therefore rather out of place, in the conspicuous position which it occupies on the walls of the Ling Raj; but, it may be observed generally, of these edifices, that the sculptors have by no means confined themselves, in their choice of ornaments, to emblems peculiar to the deity of the place.

The temple of the Ling Raj at Bhobanéser is both the finest monument of antiquity which the province contains, and likewise indisputably the most ancient. It took forty-three years to build, and local tradition as well as the histories of the country, concur in fixing the date of its completion, as A. D. 657.

We have no particular accounts, of the period and causes of the decline

of the city of Bhobanéser, and the worship of Mahádeo. Nearly all but the great temple, have been long since completely deserted; and the establishment kept up there, is on a very small and inadequate scale, under the patronage of the Khurda Rajas, whose ancestors granted all the lands and endowments, by which the brahmins attached to it now subsist. It is occasionally visited by the Bengalee pilgrims on their way to Jagannáth, and every year, at the Sheo Ratri, a considerable collection of Desi, or country pilgrims, are gathered together under its walls, to hold a mela or fair.

The ruins of two extensive palaces, belonging to the Rajas of the Kesari line, are shewn at or near Bhobanéser. There is likewise a very superb tank, lying north of the temple, called the Bindu Ságar, which forms a conspicuous object in the scenery of the place, and another, faced with stone, on the east, remarkable for its being bordered all round with rows of small antique looking temples, about thirty on a side, just large enough to contain the human figure in a sitting posture, in which sixty female ascetics, who had devoted themselves to the worship of Devi, are said to have lived and died many ages back. Amongst the curiosities of the environs, the attention of the visitor is generally directed to a huge figure of the lingam, forty feet in height, at the temple of Bháskaresar Mahádeo. It is formed of a single shaft of sandstone, situated partly in a subterranean vault, and part rising into the centre of a great tower, of the usual form, which is said to have been built round this impure and degrading object of worship, after it had been set up and consecrated.

Khandgiri.

About five miles west of Bhobanéser, near the village of Jagmara, in the Char Sudhi Khandaiti of Khurda, and still within the limits of the khetr, a group of small hills occur, four in number, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height, which present many objects of interest and curiosity. These hills called severally the Udaya Giri, Dewal Giri, Nil Giri and Khand Giri, (by which latter name the spot is now generally designat-

ed,) are composed of a silicious sandstone of various colour and texture, and are all curiously perforated with small caves, disposed in two or three irregular stories. Each of the caves is large enough to contain from one to two human beings in a sitting posture. Some of them appear to be natural cavities, slightly improved by the hand of man; others have obviously been excavated altogether artificially; and the whole are grotesquely carved and embellished. In one part, a projecting mass of rock has been cut into the form of a tiger's head, with the jaws widely distended, through which a passage lies into a small hole at the back secured by a wooden door,—the residence of a pious ascetic of the Vyshnavite sect. The ridiculous legend which the natives relate to explain the origin of these isolated hills, is, that they formerly constituted a part of the Himalaya, at which time they were inhabited by numerous Rishis, who dug the caves now found in them. They were taken up bodily, ascetics and all, by Mahábír Hanumán, with other masses of rock, to build the bridge of Rama, but, by some accident, were allowed to drop in their passage through the air, when they alighted in their present position. I am almost tempted to add, as a curious coincidence, that they are the only real sandstone hills found in this part of the country; but the geology of the district has not been sufficiently explored, to warrant my advancing such an assertion positively.

The summit of the highest rock, is crowned by a neat stone temple of modern construction, sacred to the worship of Párasnáth; all around, and in the neighbourhood of which, are strewed a quantity of images of the Nirvánas, or naked figures worshipped by the Jain sect, executed chiefly in the grey chlorite slate rock. At the back of these temples, a highly remarkable terrace is shewn, called the Deo Sabhá, or assembly of the gods, which is covered with numberless antique-looking stone pillars or temples in miniature, some standing, others lying on the ground, about two or three feet long, having, on each of the four sides, a figure of the naked Jain deity rudely sculptured. The place is still frequented by the Jain or Parwár merchants of Cuttack, who assemble here in numbers, once every year, to hold a festival of their religion.

A short way up the Udaya Giri hill, the Nour or palace of the famous Raja Lalat Indra Kesari, is pointed out as the chief curiosity of the place. It consists of a sort of open court formed by a perpendicular face of sandstone rock, about forty feet in height, with shoulders of the same projecting on either side. Rows of small chambers have been excavated in each face, arranged in two stories, and divided by a projecting terrace. Both the exterior surface and the inner walls of the chambers are decorated with cornices, pilasters, figures, and various devices, very rudely sculptured, and the whole exhibits a faint and humble resemblance, in miniature, to the celebrated cavern temples in the south-west of India. The rude and miserable apartments of the *palace*, are now occupied by byragis and mendicants of different sects, who state that the place had its origin in the time of Buddha, and that it was last inhabited by the Rani of the famous Raja Lalat Indra Kesari, a favourer of the Buddhist religion. Many odd fables are related of the scrapes into which she was led by her heretical notions, and of the way in which her conversion to the orthodox system of worship was at last effected.

Farther up the same hill, on the overhanging brow of a large cavern, one meets with an ancient inscription cut out of the sand-stone rock, in the very identical character which occurs on the pillars at Delhi, and which as yet has been only very partially decyphered. Having been enabled to obtain an exact facsimile of this interesting monument by the assistance of Colonel Mackenzie, whom I conducted to the spot in 1820, I shall annex the same to the Appendix of this paper. There are I think two eminently remarkable circumstances connected with the character used in the above inscription. The first is the close resemblance of some of the letters to those of the Greek alphabet, and the second the occurrence of it on sundry ancient monuments situated in widely distant quarters of India. In support of the first assertion, I need only point the attention of the reader to those of the characters which are exactly similar

to the Greek ou, sigma, lambda, chi, delta, epsilon, and a something closely resembling the figure of the digamma. With regard to the second, any reader who will take the trouble of comparing the Khandgiri inscription with that on Firoz Shah's Lat at Delhi, on the column at Allahabad, on the Lat of Bhim Sen, in Sarun, a part of the Elephanta, and a part of the Ellora inscriptions, will find that the characters are identically the same.

A portion of the Ellore and Salsette inscription written in the above character, has been decyphered by the learning and ingenuity of Major Wilford, aided by the discovery of a key to the unravelling of ancient inscriptions in the possession of a learned brahmin, vide the eleventh article of vol. v. Asiatic Researches; and it is to be regretted that the same has not been further applied to decyphering the Delhi and other characters. The solution attempted by the Pere Trieffenthaler, does not seem to me to merit any attention.* The natives of the district can give no explanation whatever on the subject. The brahmins refer the inscription with shuddering and disgust, to the Budh Ka Amel, or time when the Buddhist doctrines prevailed, and are reluctant even to speak on the subject. I have in vain also applied to the Jains of the district for an explanation. I cannot however divest myself of the notion that the character has some connection with the ancient Pracrit, and considering that it occurs in a spot for many ages consecrated to the worship of Parasnath, which the brahmins are pleased to confound with the Buddhist religion, and that the figure or character-

* He says, speaking of Firoz Shah's pillar; Aprés avoir beaucoup et long temps cherché jái trouvé la signification de ces caractéres. Ce sont en partie des signes numeriques, en partie des figures d'instrumens de guerre dont es Indiens se servoient autrefois. Δ est le caracter de nombre huit.: a celui du nombre quatre; O désigne le sceptre de Rama joint Δ unglobe. N designe le figure d'une charrue qui etoit autrefois un instrument de guerre chez les Indiens. X a dela ressemblance avec la lettre qui signifie *C* on *K*; il est plus probable cependant que cette figure de *dix* Roman ou *Ch* grec désigne une fleur a quatre feuilles dont les gentils employent quelque fois la figure pour servir al' interponctuation des mots; Δ triangle qui est la Deesse, Bavani; ϵ est la charactere du nombre 6. E enfin designe une espece de hallebarde avec laquelle Ram coucha sur le carreau un geant a mille bras. De ce que ces caracteres ont de la ressemblance avec les characteres grecs quelques Européens ont cru que cet obelisque avoit etc elevé par Alexandre la grand; mais c'est une erreur, &c.

istic mark which appears in company with it, thus 卐,* does in some sort seem to identify it with the former worship, I am persuaded that a full explanation is to be looked for only from some of the learned of the Jain sect.

Jagannáth.

The Vishnu or Purushotama Khetr (Pursottem Chetr) extends, I believe, properly from the Bytarni to the Rassikoila river at Ganjam, but the more sacred part of it is comprised within a range of five coss, in the centre of which, termed fantastically the Sank'h Nábhi Mendel, and on a low ridge of sand hills dignified with the title of the Nilgiri or Niláchal (blue mountain), stands the famous temple of Jagannáth, "that mighty Pagoda or Pagod, the mirror of all wickedness and idolatry." The building in its form and distribution resembles closely the great Pagoda at Bhubanneswar; nor do the dimensions of the two edifices greatly differ, but the Jagannáth one has the advantage in point of situation. Altogether its appearance is certainly imposing from its loftiness and the mass of masonry which it comprizes, but the execution is extremely rude and inelegant, and the form and proportions of the principal object, the Bar Dewal or great tower, are, it must be acknowledged, by no means pleasing to the eye. The present edifice was completed A D. 1198 at a cost of from forty to fifty lacs of Rupees, under the superintendence of Param Hans Bajpöi, the minister of Raja Anang Bhim Deo, who was unquestionably the most illustrious of all the Gajapati princes of Orissa, and it seems unaccountable that in an age when the architects obviously possessed some taste and skill, and were in most cases particularly lavish in their use of sculptured ornament, so little pains should have been taken with the decoration and finishing of this sacred and stupendous edifice. Its appearance has further suffered of late years from the exterior having been covered with a coating of chunam which has all been washed off excepting a few stains and patches, and still more from the barbarous practice now in force of marking out parts of the sculp-

* Mr. Colebrooke, in his account of the Jains, gives the figure of a mark very much resembling this which he calls the Nandavcrta, characteristic of the deified saint Ara.

ture with red paint. The material used for the construction of the temple is chiefly the coarse granite, resembling sandstone, found abundantly in the southern part of Cuttack. The following is a sketch of the plan of it. The edifices composing and connected with the temple which are very numerous, stand in a square area enclosed by a lofty stone wall, measuring about six hundred and fifty feet on a side. A broad flight of twenty-two steps leads from the Sinh Darwazeh or principal gate of entrance, on the east, to a terrace twenty feet in height, enclosed by a second wall four hundred and forty-five feet square, on which occurs first the apartment called the Bhog Mandap. In a line, and connected with it by a sort of low portico (the Mukt Mandap), is the great antichamber of the temple called the Jagmohan, which adjoins and opens into the tower or sanctuary. The tower itself rises to a height of about one hundred and eighty feet from the terrace, or two hundred from the ground. The ground plan is a square measuring thirty feet [illegible] Most of the other principal deities of the Hindoo Pantheo[illegible]t this place situated between the two enclosures. Th[illegible]lanked and guarded by colossal figures of lions, or more prop[illegible] in a sitting posture, and by smaller images of the mythological porters Jaya and Vijaya resting on their clubs, sculptured on the side posts. In front stands a column of dark coloured basalt, with a base of the mineral resembling pot-stone, remarkable for its light and elegant appearance and the beauty of its proportions, which supports a figure of the monkey-god Hanuman. One might guess that this is the work of artists of a different class and æra from those who raised the temple of Jagannáth, and the fact is really so, it having been brought from the famous, but now deserted, temple of the sun at Kanarak, about sixty years ago, by a brahmácharí inhabitant of Púri, of great wealth and influence.

Some ingenious speculations have been hazarded upon the origin and meaning of the worship of Jagannáth and the causes of the peculiar sanctity of the place, but amidst the conflicting and contradictory legends and

traditions which prevail, it seems scarcely possible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on the subject. The accounts given in the writings of the Hindus, more especially the Kapila Sanhita and the Khetr Máhátmya of the temple, are simply as follows, divested of the loads of declamation and repetition which embarrass the perusal of them. From the beginning of all things until the expiration of the first half of the age of Brahma, Parameswara, Sri Bhagwan, or Jagannáth, in other words Vishnu, dwelt on the Niláchal in Utkala Desa, in the form of Nil Mádhava. The fame of this form of the deity having reached the Court of Indradyumna, Maharaja of Avanti or Oujein, an eminently devout and pious prince in the Satya Yuga, he conceived a desire to perform worship at the sacred shrine, and accordingly set out on a journey to Orissa with a large army, after having first dispatched a brahmin to make inquiry. Just as he reached the spot on the expiration of a three months' journey, it was reported to him that the image of Nil Mádhava had disappeared from the face of the earth. The Raja was overwhelmed with disappointment at this intelligence, and fell into a state of the deepest melancholy and affliction until comforted in a dream by the deity, who informed him that although he had abandoned his former shape, he would soon reappear again, (or that a fresh Avatár would take place), in a still more sacred form, that of the Dáru Brahm which would remain to all ages. Shortly after, the Maharaja was apprized that a Dáru,* or log of wood of the Nim tree (Melia Azadirachta) was to be seen floating to the shores of Pursottem Chetr from the quarter of the Sitadwíp island, adorned with the Sankha, Gadá, Padma, Chakr, or several emblems of Vishnu, viz. the conch shell, mace, lotus and discus, and bearing a most divine and beautiful appearance. Transported with joy the pious prince ran to the sea shore, embraced the sacred log, which he was satisfied from the above symptoms must be a real form of Vishnu, and proceeded to deposit it with great ceremony in a consecrated enclosure. He then through

* Some accounts say that the Maharaja had first to perform a hundred thousand Aswa Med'h Jagyas or sacrifices of the horse before favored with a view of this choice form of the deity, but as usual with every Hindu fable there is prodigious discrepancy in the several versions of it.

the advice of Nárad Muni, who had accompanied him, obtained the aid of Visvakermá, the architect of the gods, to arrange the image in its proper form. At the first blow of the sacred axe of the Hindu Vulcan, the log split of itself into *the four-fold image* or Çhatur Murti. A little colouring only was necessary to complete them, and they then became recognized as Sri Krishna or Jagannáth distinguished by its black hue, Baldeo, a form of Siva, of a white colour, Subhadrá, the sister of these brothers of the colour of saffron, and a round staff or pillar with the chakra impressed on each end called Sudersan. The Raja's next care was to erect a temple and to establish the worship on a suitable scale of splendour. On the great day when all was ready for consecrating the temple, Brahma himself, and the whole company of the deities of Indra's court, came down from heaven on their several appropriate vehicles to offer up worship at the shrine of the lord of the universe, which, say the Urias, has since that period, and especially in the Kali yuga, maintained a rank and celebrity such as even Kásí, Bindraban, or Setu Band Rameswar, cannot boast of.

The Hindus of Orissa endeavour, though with vastly little foundation, to ascribe to the worship of Jagannáth a more *spiritual* character than is generally claimed for their superstition elsewhere. They refer to the common title of the divinity of the place, which implies the Brahma or Divine spirit that pervades and sustains the universe, and are fond of quoting a passage in the legendary account of the temple which runs thus, "Hear now the truth of the Dáru Avatár," (the appearance of the deity in the form of the Nim tree log,) "What part of the universe is there which the divine spirit does not pervade? In every place it exults and sports in a different form. In the heaven of Brahmá it is Brahmá; at Kylas it is Mahádeo; in the upper world it is Indra; on the face of the earth it is to be found in all the most renowned Khetrs, at Baddrika as Badrinath; at Brindaban and Dwaraka as Krishen; at Ayodhya (Oude) in another shape; but in the Khetr of Pursottem it appears in its true and most sacred form." The brahmins also have a practice of dressing up the figure of Sri Jeo

(lit. the holy spirit) in a costume appropriate to the occasion, to represent the principal deities, on the occurrence of the yearly festivals held in honor of each, which are termed the different Bhues, or Phases, of the Thakur. Thus at the Ram Navamí, the great image assumes the dress and character of Rama; at the Janam Ashtamí, that of Krishen; at the Kálí Pújá, that of Kálí; when the Narsinha Avatár is celebrated, that of Narsinh; when the Báman Avatar, that of the mighty dwarf. This would seem to evince some symptoms of a belief that in offering up worship to Jagannáth, his votaries do not confine their adoration to any particular deity, but adore the whole host of the Hindu heaven, or rather the spirit which animates them, whilst at other Khetrs the divinity of the place alone is worshipped. Mr. Paterson's hypothesis refers the worship now under consideration to the adoration of the mystical syllable, A, U, M, coalescing into Om, and is certainly the most ingenious and plausible that has been suggested, but goes far beyond the knowledge or comprehension of the most learned or intellectual of the present day. All the explanation which the more intelligent brahmins can or will afford on the subject, is, that they worship at Jagannáth, Bhagwán or the supreme spirit itself, and not any subordinate deity; that the images are shapeless, because the Vedas have declared that the deity has no particular form; and that they have received their present grotesque and hideous countenances, with the view to terrify men into being good. The same fancy which has invested the Khetr of Jagannáth with superior sanctity, is the cause, of course, of the unusual virtue ascribed to the Maháprasád, or food cooked for the deity, and consecrated by being placed before the images. The Khetr Máhátmya says, that Maha Lukshmí herself prepares and tastes it. He who eats it is absolved from the four cardinal sins of the Hindu faith, viz. killing a cow, killing a brahmin, drinking spirits, and committing adultery with the female of a Guru or spiritual pastor. So great is its virtue that it cannot be polluted by the touch of the very lowest caste, and the leavings even of a dog are to be carefully taken up and made use of. The most tremendous and inexpiable of all crimes, is to handle and eat the Maháprasád, without a proper feeling of reverence.

Without going into any profound speculation as to the origin, nature, and meaning of the worship of Jagannáth, there is one cause sufficiently obvious why all sects should here unite in harmony in the performance of their religious ceremonies, viz. that the temple instead of being consecrated exclusively to some form of the deity Vishnu alone, is in fact occupied, in joint tenancy, by forms of three of the most revered divinities of the Hindu faith. Balbhadra or Baldeo, (Balaráma,) the elder brother, who is treated with the greatest respect, though not so popular as his black relation, is clearly identified with Mahádeo, both by his white colour, and the figure of the serpent Shesha or Ananta* which forms a hood over the back part of his head; and Subhadra is esteemed a form of Devi or Kali, the female energy of the above. The precedence is always given tó the elder brother; he has a rath or chariot of equal size with that of Jagannáth, and altogether the veneration paid to him is quite sufficient to conciliate the votaries of Siva, who are the only violent or bigoted sectaries. All other deities too are allowed to occupy niches or temples within the precincts of the great Pagoda, and are treated with so much respect, that the most obstinate sectary could not with any decency or consistency refuse to join in the general worship of the place.

The legend above quoted by me regarding the establishment of the worship of Jagannáth, does not provide for or explain the sacred deposit which popular belief, sanctioned by the brahmins, places in the belly of the image. Some conjecture it to be a bone of Krishna, but how it came there is not explained. As the image has been often remade of the wood of the Nim tree, it seems not improbable that it may be a relic of the old original idol which is thus religiously preserved. With regard to the Raja Indradyumna, he is mentioned by Wilford as famous in the fabulous legends relating to the Swéta Dwipa or White Islands of the west. The memory of his visit to Púri has been perpetuated, independently of the temple legends, by

* Both these words in Wilson's Sancrit Dictionary are explained to mean a serpent and a name of Baladeva.

a superb tank which bears his name. Either the author of the Ayin Acberi, or his translator, has confounded things together, in calling him Raja Indra Dummun of Nilkurpurbut (Nilgiri Parvat) instead of stating that he visited the sand hills at Púrí called by that name in the Hindu writings. The assertion also of Abulfazl that the image of Jagannáth is made of sandal wood, is founded apparently on some confusion between the material appropriated to that purpose, and a bar of timber used for closing the entrance of the temple during the Chandan Játrá, thence called the Chandan Dáru or sandal wood.

The principal ceremonies of the temple of Jagannáth, its festivals, the rules for the collection of the tax, and general system of management, have been described with sufficient accuracy and detail by Hamilton. The monstrous idols of the place may be seen daily, with few exceptions, seated on their Sinhásan, or throne, within the sanctuary, but they are publicly exposed to view on two occasions only in the year, the Asnán and the Rath Játrás. At the Asnán or festival of the bath, Jagannáth and his brother, after undergoing certain ablutions, assume what is called the Ganesh Bhuës or form of the elephant-headed god, to represent which the images are dressed up with an appropriate mask. Thus arrayed, they are placed on a high terrace overlooking the outer wall of the temple, surrounded by crowds of priests who fan them to drive away the flies, whilst the multitude below gaze in stupid admiration.

At the Rath Játrá, the images, as is well known, are indulged with an airing on their cars and a visit to the god's country house, a mile and a half distant, named the Goondicha Nour, after the Rani of Maharaja Indradyumna who founded the worship. The display which takes place on this occasion has been often before described, but some brief notice of it will naturally be expected in a paper treating professedly of Cuttack.

On the appointed day, after various prayers and ceremonies have been

gone through within the temple, the four images are brought from their throne to the outside of the Lion gate—not with decency and reverence, seated on a litter or vehicle adapted to such an occasion—but a common cord being fastened round their necks, certain priests to whom the duty appertains, drag them down the steps and through the mud, whilst others keep the figures erect and help their movements by shoving them from behind, in the most indifferent and unceremonious manner, as if they thought the whole business a good joke. In this way the monstrous idols go rocking and pitching along through the crowd, until they reach the cars which they are made to ascend by a similar process up an inclined platform reaching from the stage of the machine to the ground. On the other hand, a powerful sentiment of religious enthusiasm pervades the admiring multitude of pilgrims assembled without, when the beloved images first make their appearance through the gate. They welcome them with the loudest shouts of joyful recognition and stunning cries of Jye Jagannáth, victory to Jagannáth; and when the monster Jagannáth himself, the most hideous of all the figures, is dragged forth the last in order, the air is rent with plaudits and acclamations. These celebrated idols are nothing more than wooden busts about six feet in height, fashioned into a rude resemblance of the human head resting on a sort of pedestal. They are painted white, yellow, and black respectively, with frightfully grim and distorted countenances, and are decorated with a head dress of different colored cloths shaped something like a helmet. The two brothers have arms projecting horizontally forward from the ears. The sister is entirely devoid of even that approximation to the human form. Their Raths* or cars have an imposing air from their size and loftiness, but every part of the ornament is of the most mean and paltry description, save only the covering of striped and spangled broad cloth furnished from the Export Ware-

* Jagannáth's Rath, called Nandi Ghos, measures forty-three and a half feet high. It has sixteen wheels of six and a half feet diameter each and a platform thirty-four and a half feet square. The Rath of Baldeo, called Thala Dhaj, is about forty-one feet high and has fourteen wheels. The Devi or Subhadra Rath called Padma Dhaj is forty feet high, the platform thirty-one square and fourteen wheels of six and a half feet diameter.

house of the British Government, the splendour and gorgeous effect of which compensate in a great measure for other deficiencies of decoration. After the images have been safely lodged in their vehicles, a box is brought forth containing the golden or gilded feet, hands, and ears of the great idol, which are fixed on the proper parts with due ceremony, and a scarlet scarf is carefully arranged round the lower part of the body or pedestal. Thus equipped and decorated, it is worshipped in much pomp and state by the Raja of Khurda, who performs before it the ceremony of the Chandálo, or sweeping, with a richly ornamented broom. At about this period of the festival, bands of villagers enter the crowd dancing and shouting, with music playing before and behind, each carrying in his hand a branch of a tree. They are the inhabitants of the neighbouring Pergunnahs, Raheng, Limbai, &c. called Kalabetiahs, whose peculiar duty and privilege it is, conjointly with the inhabitants of Púri, to drag the Raths. On reaching the cars, they take their station close to them, and soon as the proper signal has been given, they set the example to the multitudes assembled, by seizing on the cables, when all advance forwards a few yards, hauling along generally two of the Raths at a time. The joy and shouts of the crowd on their first movement, the creaking sound of the wheels as these ponderous machines roll along, the clatter of hundreds of harsh sounding instruments, and the general appearance of so immense a moving mass of human beings, produce, it must be acknowledged, an impressive, astounding, and somewhat picturesque effect, whilst the novelty of the scene lasts, though the contemplation of it cannot fail of exciting the strongest sensations of pain and disgust in the mind of every Christian spectator. At each pause, the Dytahs or Charioteers of the god advance forwards to a projecting part of the stage, with wands in their hands, and throwing themselves into a variety of wild and frantic postures, address some fable or series of jokes to the multitude, who grunt a sort of response at the proper intervals. Often their speeches and actions are grossly and indescribably indecent. The address generally closes with some peculiarly piquant allusion, when

the gratified mob raise a loud shout as their final response, and all rush forward with the cables. The progress made varies greatly according to the state of the roads, the care used in keeping the Raths in a proper direction, the zeal and number of the pilgrims, and the will of the priests or as they say of the god; the former having some method of choking the wheels, and thereby preventing the movement of the cars, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the credulous multitude to advance forwards. Generally from two to three days are consumed in reaching the Gondicha Nour, where the images are taken out. Before even this period has elapsed, the curiosity and enthusiasm of the pilgrims have nearly quite evaporated, they steal off in numbers, and leave Sri Jeo to get back to the temple as he may. Without indeed the aid of the villagers before described, and of the population of Púri who hold their ground free of rent on condition of performing this service to the deity, the Raths would now-a-days infallibly stick always at the Gondicha Nour. Even the god's own proper servants will not labor zealously and effectually without the interposition of authority, and I imagine the ceremony would soon cease to be conducted on its present scale and footing, if the institution were left entirely to its fate and to its own resources, by the officers of the British Government.

That excess of fanaticism which formerly prompted the pilgrims to court death by throwing themselves in crowds under the wheels of the car of Jagannáth, has happily long ceased to actuate the worshippers of the present day. During four years that I have witnessed the ceremony, three cases only of this revolting species of immolation have occurred, one of which I may observe is doubtful and should probably be ascribed to accident; in the other two instances the victims had long been suffering from some excruciating complaints, and chose this method of ridding themselves of the burthen of life, in preference to other modes of suicide so prevalent with the lower orders under similar circumstances. The number of pilgrims resorting to Jagannáth has I think been exaggerated, as well as the waste of human life occasioned thereby, though doubtless, in an unfavorable

season, or when the festival occurs late, the proportion of deaths caused by exposure to the inclemency of the weather, is very melancholy. The following is a statement of pilgrims of all classes who attended for the last five years at the three great festivals, procured from the most authentic sources, viz.

1817-18,	Paying Tax,	35,941	Exempt	39,720	Total	75,641
1818-19,	do.	36,241	do.	4,870	Total	41,111
1819-20,	do.	92,874	do.	39,000	Total	1,31,874
1820-21,	do.	21,946	do.	11,500	Total	33,446
1821-22,	do.	35,160	do.	17,000	Total	52,160

The Khetr of Jagannáth or Vishnu contains temples innumerable sacred to the worship of all the other principal deities, and some secondary ones rarely met with elsewhere, as the god Cuvera or Plutus, who has a curious antique looking temple amongst the sand hills on the coast. Shiva and his female energy are likewise fabled to reside constantly within its limits, in sixteen different forms, eight male and eight females. The male ones or Sambhus are figured by images called Yameswara[1], Visveswara[2], Gopal Mochan[3], Márkandeswara[4], Nilkantheswara[5], Trilochan[6], Bhuteswara[7], and Pátáleswara[8]; the female figures or Chandis have the appellations of Mangalá[1], Bimlá[2], Sarvamangalá[3], Kálí[4], Dhátrí[5], Kámákhyá[6], Ardha Astí[7], and Bhawání[8]. There is also a small Sikh College amongst the sand hills inhabited by three or four priests of that sect. The horrid practice of self-immolation of widows prevails less at Púri than might perhaps have been expected, with reference to the general character of the place and the numerous families which resort there to pay their devotions, the average of Satis not exceeding six per annum for the police division in which it is comprized. The concremation both of the dead and the living bodies takes place on the sea shore, close to the civil station, at a spot impiously called the Swarga Dwára or passage to heaven. There is this peculiarity in the rite as performed here, that instead of ascending a pile, the infatu-

ated widow lets herself down into a pit, at the bottom of which the dead body of the husband has been previously placed with lighted faggots above and beneath. The latest returns show the whole number of victims who destroy themselves annually in the above revolting manner, to average at from twenty to thirty for the entire district of Cuttack.

The Arka or Padam Khetr is distinguished by its containing the remains of the celebrated temple of the sun, called in our charts the black Pagoda which is situated amidst the sand hills of the sea shore, near the site of the old village of Kanarak, eighteen miles north of Jagannáth Púri. The Jagmohan or antichamber is the only part of the building which exists in tolerably good preservation. The great tower has been shattered and thrown down by some extraordinary force, either of an earthquake or lightning, and in its fall seems to have injured that side of the adjoining edifice which looks towards it. A small section however still remains standing, about one hundred and twenty feet in height, which viewed from a distance gives to the ruin a singular appearance, something resembling that of a ship under sail. The whole of the outer enclosures of the temple have long since disappeared, and nothing is left of the edifice called the Bhog Mandap but a heap of ruin, completely buried under a sand hill.

The black Pagoda even in its present imperfect and dilapidated condition, presents a highly curious and beautiful specimen of the ancient Hindu temple architecture, and as it has long been completely deserted, we may here study at leisure and without interruption, some of the most striking peculiarities of that style.

The deity of the place is called by the vulgar Sooruj Deo (Surya), and at full length, Chunder Sooruj Birinji Náráyan. The origin of the worship of a divinity so little honored in India generally speaking, is ascribed to Sámba, the son of Krishna, who having been afflicted with leprosy and banished from his father's Court at Dwarka, as a punishment for acciden-

tally looking in upon the nymphs of the palace whilst sporting naked in the water, was cured at this spot by the Sun, to whose service he in gratitude raised a temple. The present edifice it is well known was built by Raja Langora Narsinh Deo, A. D. 1241, under the superintendence of his minister Shibai Sautra. I cannot discover any authority for the assertion of the author of the Ayin Acberi, that the entire revenue of twelve years was expended on the work, but doubtless the cost was very serious compared with the state of the Raja's treasury. The natives of the neighbouring villages have a strange fable to account for its desertion. They relate that a Kumbha Pathar or loadstone, of immense size, was formerly lodged on the summit of the great tower, which had the effect of drawing ashore all vessels passing near the coast. The inconvenience of this was so much felt, that about two centuries since, in the Mogul time, the crew of a ship landed at a distance and stealing down the coast, attacked the temple, scaled the tower, and carried off the loadstone. The priests alarmed at this violation of the sanctity of the place, removed the image of the god with all his paraphernalia to Púri, where they have ever since remained, and from that date the temple became deserted and went rapidly to ruin. As above intimated, the origin of its dilapidation may obviously be ascribed either to an earthquake or to lightning, but many causes have concurred to accelerate the progress of destruction, when once a beginning had been made. To say nothing of the effects of weather on a deserted building, and of the vegetation that always takes root under such circumstances, it is clear that much injury has been done by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, in forcing out the iron clamps which held the stones together, for the sake of the metal; and it is well known that the officers of the Marhatta government actually beat down a part of the walls, to procure materials for building some insignificant temples at Púri.

Abulfazl's quaint, but lively and picturesque, description of the temple of the Sun, is of course familiar to those who have perused the Ayin Acberi with attention. Although however it affords a good general idea of

the character of the building, it is strangely inaccurate in respect to measurements, no less than in the description of the emblems and ornaments which embellish it. Without noticing its several errors in detail, I shall first insert the description above alluded to, and then offer an account of the place as it appears to the visitor in the nineteenth century.

The author of the Ayin Acberi observes, (vide Gladwin's translation,) "Near to Jagannáth is the temple of the sun, in the erecting of which, was "expended the whole revenue of Orissa for twelve years. No one can "behold this immense edifice without being struck with amazement. The "wall which surrounds the whole is one hundred and fifty cubits high "and nineteen cubits thick. There are three entrances to it. At the east-"ern gate there are two very fine figures of elephants, each with a man "upon his trunk. To the west are two surprizing figures of horsemen "completely armed, and over the northern gate are carved two lions who "having killed two elephants, are sitting upon them. In the front of the gate "is a pillar of black stone of an octagonal form fifty cubits high. There "are nine flights of steps, after ascending which, you come into an exten-"sive enclosure where you discover a large *dome* constructed of stone up-"on which are carved the sun and stars and round them is a border where "are represented a variety of human figures, expressing the different pas-"sions of the mind, some kneeling, others prostrated with their faces up-"on the earth, together with minstrels, and a number of strange and won-"derful animals, such as never existed but in imagination. This is said "to be a work of 730 years antiquity. Raja Nursingh Deo finished this "building, thereby erecting for himself a lasting monument of fame. There "are twenty-eight other temples belonging to this pagoda, six before the "northern gate, and twenty-two without the enclosure, and they are all "reported to have performed miracles."

The wall which formed the outer enclosure may have measured about 250 yards on a side; within this was a second enclosure having three entrances called the *Aswa* or horse, the *Hasti* or elephant, and the *Sinha* or

Lion gate, from the colossal figures of those animals, which surmounted the several side posts. The horses and elephants on the north and south, have long since been precipitated from their bases, but the lions, or rather griffins, still retain the attitude and position assigned to them by Abulfazl, except that they are standing, instead of sitting, on the bodies of elephants, and have one paw lifted in the act of striking. Fronting the Sinh gate, stood the beautiful polygonal column, formed of a single shaft of black basalt, which now adorns the entrance of the Púri temple. It supported, at that time, the appropriate emblem of Aruna, the charioteer of the sun, which has since given place to Hanuman, and measures about thirty-three feet in height, instead of fifty cubits. The accompanying drawing will give a better idea, than the most elaborate description, of its chaste appearance and elegant proportions. Khambahs or columns of a similar description, though far inferior in point of style and execution, are frequently met with in front of the more ancient temples of Orissa. They are well known to the Hindu antiquary, under the name of "Jaya Stambhas or Pillars of Victory," though what their precise use or object is, has not been explained.

From the eastern gate of the inner enclosure, a flight of ruined steps leads to the only tolerably perfect part of the building now remaining, called the Jagmohan, or Antichamber of the Sanctuary. No one, certainly, can behold the massive beams of iron and the prodigious blocks of stone used in the construction of this edifice, without being struck with amazement. The ground plan is a square, measuring sixty feet on a side, or, if we take in the four projecting door-ways, it should rather be called a cross. The walls rise to a height of sixty feet, and have in some parts the unusual thickness of twenty feet. They support a noble and curiously constructed pyramidal roof, the stones composing which overhang each other, in the manner of inverted stairs, until they approach near enough towards the summit to support iron beams laid across, on which rests a prodigious

mass of solid masonry, forming the head-piece or crowning ornament. The slope measures about seventy-two feet, and perpendicular height, sixty-three or sixty-four. The total altitude of the building, from the floor to the summit, is about one hundred feet or a little more. The outside of the roof is divided into three tiers of steps, formed by slabs projecting curiously from the body of the building, which are all bordered with a very fine pattern of elephants, birds, and various figures executed with considerable skill and spirit. Each of the terraces between the tiers, is decorated with statues, placed at intervals, nearly as large as life. On the two lower ones, are figures of nymphs and heavenly choristers, dancing and playing upon sundry instruments, but with countenances expressing very little passion or feeling of any kind. The third story has the usual mythological animals, more nearly resembling lions than any thing else, which support on their shoulders the outer rim of the huge turban-shaped ornament on the top; besides these, there is a four-headed statue over each of the door-ways, the crowns and sceptres of which, mark them as intended to represent the majesty of Brahma.

Each face of the Jagmohan has a fine rectangular door-way, with a porch projecting considerably beyond and lined with superb slabs of the grey indurated chlorite, many of which measure fifteen feet high by a breadth of six or eight feet. The architrave of the door-way, as well as the roof of the passage leading to the interior, and an enormous mass of masonry resting upon it, are supported by nine iron beams, nearly a foot square by twelve or eighteen long, which are laid across the side ways in the most rude and inartificial manner. The whole fabric is held together by clamps of the same metal, and there is no appearance of any cement having been made use of.

If the style of the black Pagoda betrays, in the rude and clumsy expedients apparent in its construction, a primitive state of some of the arts, and a deficiency of architectural skill, at the period of its erection, one cannot but wonder at the ease with which the architects seem to have wielded

and managed the cumbersome masses of iron and stone, used for the work, in an age when so little aid was to be derived from any mechanical inventions; and it must be allowed that there is an air of elegance, combined with massiveness, in the whole structure, which entitles it to no small share of admiration. There is much, however, about this remarkable building, which it is difficult either to describe or comprehend. The interior is filled, to a height of several feet, with large blocks of stone, which seem to have fallen from above, and what purpose they answered, in their former situation, is a matter of great doubt and discussion. Amongst the heap are to be seen, two iron beams, measuring twenty-one feet in length by about eight inches square, absolutely crushed beneath a superincumbent mass of stone, many of the blocks composing which, measure fifteen and sixteen feet in length, by about six feet of depth and two or three of thickness. It seems probable that they formed part of an inner or false roof, but neither is it easy to assign any precise place for such a ceiling, nor can one divine the motive or object of elevating such prodigious blocks of stone to a great height in the building, when lighter materials would have been so much better adapted to the work.

The exterior of the side walls, as of the roof, is loaded with a profusion of the richest sculptured ornaments. A remarkably handsome cornice or border occupies the upper part, all round, for a depth of several feet. Below this, the surface is divided by another fine cornice, into two tiers of compartments, parted off into niches by clusters of pilasters, in each of which are placed figures of men and animals, resting on pedestals with a sort of canopy overhead. The human figures are generally male and female, in the most lewd and obscene attitudes, frequently in the very act of sexual intercourse. Amongst the animals, the commonest representation is that of a lion rampant, treading on an elephant or a prostrate human figure. Generally speaking, the style and execution of the larger figures, are rude and coarse, whilst the smaller ones display often much beauty and grace, but

it should be observed that the whole have suffered materially, from the corrosion or decomposition of the stone, of which the building is chiefly composed, viz. the coarse red granite of the province, which is singularly liable to decay, from exposure to the weather.

The skill and labor of the best artists, seem to have been reserved for the finely polished slabs of chlorite, which line and decorate the outer faces of the door-ways. The whole of the sculpture on these figures, comprizing men and animals, foliage, and arabesque patterns, is executed with a degree of taste, propriety, and freedom, which would stand a comparison with some of our best specimens of Gothic architectural ornament. The workmanship remains, too, as perfect, as if it had just come from under the chissel of the sculptor, owing to the extreme hardness and durability of the stone. A triangular niche, over each door-way, was once filled with a figure cut in alto relievo, emblematic of the deity of the place, being that of a youth in a sitting posture, holding in each hand a stalk of the true Lotus or Nelumbium speciosum, the expanded flowers of which are turned towards him. Each architrave has, as usual, the Nava Graha, or nine brahminical planets, very finely sculptured in alto relievo. Five of them are well proportioned figures of men, with mild and pleasing countenances, crowned with high pointed caps and seated cross-legged on the Padma (Nelumbium speciosum), engaged in religious meditation—one hand bears a vessel of water, and the fingers of the other are counting over the beads of a rosary, which hangs suspended. The form of the planet which presides over Thursday, (Vrihaspati or Jupiter,) is distinguished from the others by a flowing majestic beard. Friday, or Venus, is a youthful female, with a plump well rounded figure. Ketu, the descending node, is a triton whose body ends in the tail of a fish or dragon; and Rahu, or the ascending node, a monster, all head and shoulders, with a grinning grotesque countenance, frizly hair dressed like a full blown wig, and one immense canine tooth projecting from the upper jaw; in one hand he holds a hatchet, and in the other a fragment of the moon. These are doubtless the "sun and stars" menti-

oned by the author of the Ayin Acberi. Why they occupy, so uniformly, a position over the door-way of every temple in Orissa, sacred to whatever deity, I have never been able to learn.

The walls of the interior are, as usual with Hindu temples, entirely plain and devoid of ornament, but each of the projecting steps in the square pyramidal roof, has been curiously rounded, and formed into a sort of cornice, which gives a slight finish to that part of the building.

From the fragment remaining of the great tower, it would seem to have been covered with rich and varied sculptured ornament, in the style of the Bhubaneswer temple. Like all edifices of the kind, too, it had evidently an inner false roof, of pyramidal shape, formed of the inverted stairs used by the old architects of the province, as a substitute for the arch.

Birjai khetr

The Birjai or Párbati khetr, comprizes the country which stretches for five cos around the village of Jájipur (Yájyapura) on the banks of the Bytarini, as a centre. The sanctity of the place is, as usual, founded on a variety of fanciful notions and wild traditions, which it would be tedious to detail at any length. In the first place, its name, the "City of Sacrifice," is derived from the circumstance of Brahma having performed here, in ancient days, the great sacrifice called the Das Aswamedh, at the ghat so called, to which all the gods and goddesses were invited. Amongst others, Gangaji was prevailed on to attend, and has since flowed through the district in the sacred form of the Bytarini, which, descending to the infernal regions by an opening near Jájipur, becomes there the Styx of the Hindu Tartarus. At this same sacrifice, a particularly holy form of Durgá, or Párvati, sprung up from the altar on which the burnt-offering was laid, and adopted the title of Birjá, whence the name of the khetr; from her, again, issued the eight Chandís, or representatives of the Sacti of Mahádeva; and their appearance was followed by that of the eight Sambhus, or lords of the Linga, who with their dependent lingas amounting in all to no less than a crore

are stationed at different points, over the whole khetr, to guard it from the intrusion of Asurs, Rákshases, and other malignant demons. The titles of the female energies above noticed are Kóth Vásini, Siddheswari, Nibakhi, Uttareswari, Bhagavati, Kotaví, and Bhimaki; those of the males Trilochana, Someswara, Trilokeswara, Pranaveswara, Isáneswara, Akandeswara, Agníswara, and Siddhíswara, which the learned reader may compare with the epithets of the same divinities who protect and sanctify the Bishen Khetr.

Besides the aforementioned claims to veneration, Jájipur is farther esteemed, from its being supposed to rest on the navel of the tremendous giant or demon, called the Gaya Asur, who was overthrown by Vishnu. Such was his bulk, that, when stretched on the ground, his head rested at Gaya, his navel (nábhi) at this place, and his feet at a spot near Rajamendri. There is a very sacred well or pit within the enclosure of one of the Jájipur temples, called the Gaya Nábhi or Bamphi, which is fabled to reach to the navel of the monster, and into it the Hindu pilgrims throw the *Pinda*, or cake of rice and sweetmeats, which is offered, at particular conjunctions, as an expiation for the sins of their ancestors. The priests and inhabitants of Jájipur insist, that in 1821, a sudden rise of water took place in the well, which forced up the accumulated mass of sour rice cakes that had been there fermenting for months or years, and deluged the whole area of the temple with the filth. The occurrence was regarded both as a miracle, and as the forerunner of some great calamity.

The numerous stone temples on both sides of the Bytarini, executed mostly in a very respectable style of architecture, bespeak the ancient importance of the place; and history informs us that it was formerly one of the capitals of the Orissan monarchy. The Rajas of the Kesari dynasty held here their Court occasionally, as well as those of the Ganga Vansa line, and the remains of their *Nour*, or palace, at present an undefinable heap of ruin, are still shewn. The Musselman writers seem sometimes to mention Jájipur as a separate principality, in the time of the Ganga Bans Ra-

jas, but I can discover no ground whatever for such a territorial division. Mohammed Taki Khan, the Deputy of Shujaa Khan Nazir of Bengal, held his Court at Jájipur, and built a fine palace and mosque on the banks of the Bytarini, early in the last century, out of the materials of some dilapidated Hindu temple, the sculptured ornaments of which may be still observed in many parts of the walls. His palace, again, has been in great part destroyed by the officers of the present government, to obtain materials for the construction of public works in the neighbourhood.

The environs of Jájipur, present much to interest the curious, in its temples, khambas or columns in various styles, and fine remains of statuary. On one of the pillars, an inscription has been discovered, which is said to be of the same character exactly as that on the brow of the Khandigiri cavern of Khúrda. The most eminently curious objects of the place however, are, the images of certain Hindu goddesses, carved in stone, which I shall now more particularly describe.

At the back of a high terrace supporting the cenotaph of Syyed Bokhari, a Musselman saint, three colossal statues of the Hindu divinities, are shown. They lie with their heels uppermost, on a heap of rubbish, in precisely the same position apparently that they assumed, when tumbled from their thrones above, by the Musselman conquerors of the province, who destroyed a celebrated temple at the spot, and further desecrated it, by erecting on its ruins, a shrine and mosque of their own worship. The images are cut in alto relievo, out of enormous blocks of the indurated Mugni, or chlorite slate rock, and measure about ten feet in length. They represent Kálí, Váráhi the female energy of Vishnu, in the Varáha or Boar Avatar, and Indrání the lady of Indra, and though the subjects are grotesque, the execution is distinguished by a degree of freedom, skill and propriety, quite unusual in the works of Hindu sculptors. The first is a disgusting, but faithful, representation of a ghastly figure, nearly a skeleton, with many of the muscles and arteries exposed to view, invested with the

distinguishing marks and attributes of the goddess Kálí. She is seated on a car, or váhana, supported by a kneeling diminutive figure of Mahádeva. The second has a boar's head, and a huge pot belly, like that of Ganesa, and rests on a buffalo. The third is a well proportioned female figure, seated on an elephant, the animal consecrated by the Hindu Mythology to Indra, the lord of the Deotas.

On the banks of the river, one meets with a sort of raised gallery, filled with mythological sculptures, amongst which, seven large colossal figures of the female divinities called the Mátris, are particularly remarkable. They are said to have been recovered, lately, out of the sand of the river—where they were tossed by the Moguls on their shrines being destroyed—by a mahájan of Cuttack, who built the edifice in which they are now deposited. They differ little in style and dimensions, from those above described, but appear to be cut out of blocks of basalt, or greenstone, instead of chlorite shist. They are styled respectively Kálí,[1] Indráni,[2] Caumárí,[3] Rudráni,[4] Varáhiní,[5] Vaishnaví,[6] and Yama Mátri.[7] The figure of Kálí is sculptured in a very spirited manner; she is represented with an axe in one hand, and a cup full of blood in the other, dancing in an infuriated attitude, after the destruction of the giant Rakta Víja, and trampling unconsciously on her husband Mahádeo, who, as the fable runs, had thrown himself at her feet, to solicit her to desist from those violent movements, which were shaking the whole world. That of Jam Mátri, the "mother of Yama," is also a very striking and remarkable piece of sculpture. Her form is that of a hideous decrepid old woman, seated on a pedestal, quite naked, with a countenance alike expressive of extreme age, and that sourness of disposition which has rendered her proverbial as a scold. There are likewise fine representations in this mythological gallery, of the Narasinha Avatar, and the Giant Rávana, with his hundred heads and arms.

Bridges. Under the head of Civil Architecture I shall, in conclusion mention the Bridges of Orissa, which are certainly the most creditable, though not the

most magnificent, monuments remaining of its indigenous princes.* Many of these works are to be found in different parts of the province, still in excellent state of preservation. The principal bridges which I have seen, are, that between Simleah and Soro, of fourteen nálehs or channels: the Athárch or eighteen náleh bridge, at Púri; the Chár náleh, in the same neighbourhood; the bridge at Delang, and another over the Dya, between Khúrda and Pipley. They are generally termed indifferently by foreigners, Mogul and Marhatta bridges, but the latter race during their unsettled and disturbed government in Cuttack, certainly never constructed works of so useful and durable a character, and besides the fact that the history of some of the principal ones is well known, it is quite obvious from a consideration of their style and architectural ornaments, that they are of pure Hindu origin, and belong to an age ignorant of the use of the arch. A short description of the Athárch náleh bridge at Púri, will serve, to illustrate sufficiently this part of the subject. It was built of a ferruginous colored stone, probably the iron clay, early in the fourteenth century, by Raja Kabir Narsinh Deo, the successor of Langora Narsinh Deo who completed the black Pagoda. The Hindus, being ignorant how to turn an arch, substituted in lieu of it the method often adverted to above, of laying horizontal tiers of stones on the piers, the one projecting slightly beyond the other in the manner of inverted stairs, until they approach near enough at top, to sustain a key stone or cross beam; a feature so remarkable in Hindu architecture, that it seems strange it should not have been hitherto particularly noticed, in any description of the antiquities of the country. The bridge has eighteen nálehs or passages for the water, each roofed in the way described. Its total length is 290 feet, and height of the central passage eighteen feet, and its breadth fourteen ditto; of the smallest ones, at each extremity, thirteen and seven respectively; and the thickness of the piers, which have been judiciously

* Mr. J. Grant in his Historical Analysis calls them, I know not why the "wretched edifices of rustic bridges."

rounded on the side opposed to the current, eight and six feet; the height of the parapet, which is a modern addition, is six feet.

Of the other native buildings of the province little need be said. The stone rivetment at Cuttack, a work of magnitude and indispensible utility, is probably of Mogul origin, built in imitation of a more ancient one, the remains of which are still to be seen. Fort Barabati has been described in speaking of the modern capital. The ruins extant of the old palaces of the Rajas, at Cuttack, Choudwar, Jájpur, and Bhubaneswer, are mere shapeless masses of stone and mounds of earth, which it would be fruitless to attempt any detailed account of. The ancient fortress of Sarengerh, on the south bank of the Kajúri, opposite to Cuttack, is remarkable for the great distance to which its works may be traced, but no portion of it remains habitable, and a modern killah, of the Musselman time, occupies the site of the citadel and palace of the first of the Ganga Vansa Rajas.